5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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household to other households with which the bonds were intimate. Their function was to maintain existing social relationships. Nobody maintained relations of this sort with every household in the village; in the twenty-eight days for which I kept tally, the number of partnerships of individual households varied from three to fourteen out of a total of twenty-two households surveyed. This means that the households with the smallest networks had only three exchange partners during the survey period, out of a possible total of twenty-one, and the households with the largest network still failed to exchange with seven of the available households. The average number of exchange partners for the sample was 8.5. If the survey period had been longer, no doubt this average would have been higher, but even when critical events occurred (there was one death and one important visitor in the survey period) food contributions were not sent by *all* households, nor even by all households belonging to the same clan. Each household had its own private network, partly determined by close consanguineal and affinal ties but partly also by idiosyncratic considerations.

Taro gifts made to establish new relationships were of a different kind. In speaking of a 'new' relationship, I do not mean only those cases where gifts were made to persons hitherto unknown. Such cases were rare indeed. It may be justified, however, to speak of 'new' relationships when the nature of a relationship was changed dramatically, made significantly more intimate, as the result of a ceremony where gifts were made. Such a change would occur when one village invited another to a feast, thus terminating old hostilities and placing the relationship on a new footing. Similarly, a dramatic change in relationship would occur as the result of a wedding ceremony when two kinship groups, whatever their previous relation, would begin to regard each other as affines. On a smaller scale, some relationships are intimate only at the time of actual contact. An example would be guest friendships and trading partnerships. Here the intimacy has to be re-established on every one of the infrequent occasions when one partner visits the other. Even if there has been no conflict whatever, Orokaiva always ritually assume that a long-absent friend has become a stranger and the relationship must be restored. As far as I know, Orokaiva do not carry this notion as far as the Maori, who greet a long-absent friend as though they were still heavily in mourning for his death.

Taro is always given by the hosts when such a 'new' relationship is established. But in such cases the taro is uncooked, and still has the top attached to it. I was told that taro, in that form, still contained a spirit and was 'alive'. The ceremonial way of giving such taro is in the form of a pyramid-like mound, the tubers facing outwards, the tops facing inwards. On the top of the mound, a few taro are placed with the tops facing upwards. The mounds should be built on a *gaga*. It will be noticed that the position of the taro on the *gaga* is precisely the same as the position in which Totoima's son lay ('with his chest turned upwards') when his father attacked him.

If we compare this type of gift with the type considered previously, we notice several reversals of the symbolism:

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574 782 successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema* figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social 431 relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to 437 the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen, uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered [572] important ritual services.

An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only 578 one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken 431 off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded 571 to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant 825 emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has [824] neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his [754] own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party. This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the 628 husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of 728 peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise 574 be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable: the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

782 The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not 571 purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the 574 means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to 431 initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering in a properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

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574 621 [789] [754] crop failure at Hohorita would be explained as resulting from sorcery inflicted upon the people collectively by a sorcerer from one of the traditionally hostile villages near which the Sangara have been forced to live since the eruption. The sickness of a Sivepe woman resident in Togahou would be ascribed to an unknown Togahou sorcerer in whom the old anger against Sivepe still rankled. It might have been almost anyone. Both these types of trouble were met by the collective catharsis of a feast, as everybody had been involved in the wars that caused the hostility.

574 628 437 572 Yet it is clear, from the evidence presented here, that a feast does not serve to set up warm and affective relationships between collectivities: the host and guest communities, as such, do not actually eat together or converse with each other closely. Strictly, they do not even sacrifice to each other. Certainly, some significant bonds are established, but these are entirely between the sets of individual partners. It is they who sacrifice, offer hospitality and make opulent gifts to each other. It is they who come to know each other in the intimacy of their homes. In some cases the host has never met his guest before the feast was planned. In other cases, host and guest are kinsmen or traditional guest-friends. A partnership which starts at a feast may be ephemeral but if the partners feel attracted towards each other, it may be perpetuated and even become a hereditary guest-friendship. Moreover, feasts may generate love affairs and may make strangers into affines.

It is in the individual friendships established in the host and guest villages that we find the best hope of future peace. Though strife between individuals is always likely to recur, it is the inter-village friendship links that may prevent this strife from spreading and becoming collective. Any explanation of Orokaiva pig sacrifice has to take account of the fact that many of the vital transactions, sacred as well as secular, are between individuals, not collectivities. The rites give a good deal of evidence for both communion and expiation, but their concrete end product is a set of dyadic relationships restored or established between individuals and their households. Certainly religious ideas enter into the transaction between the offerer and the beneficiary of the sacrifice, but these ideas serve principally to give the act of sacrifice the deep significance that is attached to the human bond: the sacrificer is possessed by his ancestor as he kills his own pig-child. This is powerful magic indeed with which to obligate the partner who receives the flesh of the victim.

7. *A Model of Pig Sacrifice*

574 628 778 While the evidence presented above is consistent with model 25, A that model does not account for all the facts under consideration. If we take a synchronic view of the transaction between host and guest, it is clear that both gain *tno* from the feast. The guest gains *tno* as he distributes the pig meat he has received to members of his family and perhaps some other members of his local group. The host gains *tno* as the deleterious influences that previously caused disease, crop failure, etc. have been dispelled. We do not, however, obtain any explanation from the model as to why the pig sacrifice was a necessary preliminary to the obtaining of *tno*.

A [See Category 574, p. 148--Analyst]

181 In his discussion of Orokaiva morality, Williams (1930:322) states that 'The group...contents itself with two main requirements - (i) material plenty, and (ii) internal concord. ...each virtue implies agent and reagent'. Three 'moral factors' are identified as working positively towards the achievement of this ideal: industry (the manifestations of which have been treated in Part II), liberality and helpfulness. A concern for mutual aid operates among members of the 'sympathy group' and is therefore only effective over a socially and geographically restricted area. Being an acephalous society, it is based on a reciprocal system whereby a prestation voluntarily made carries with it certain obligations and expectations.

431 In traditional Orokaiva society several types of prestations were identified, according to the scale, circumstance and nature of the obligation incurred, and many of them are still practised, albeit often in an attenuated form. The most common is termed oeisa - the informal daily distribution of small quantities of 437 cooked food within the village. No account is kept of the volume involved but equal participation by all households is expected, the only exceptions being the aged and the single men, with the latter being called upon to reciprocate with a labour service from time to time. Such distributions are primarily the women's responsibility. However the casual gifts of areca and lime, made by the men, fall within the same category.

796 The term hande, freely translated as 'generous', is applied more 574 specifically to ceremonial distributions and feasts organised by 431 the men.[1] They are normally characterised by the participation of agnates and affines from other villages and by the strict attention paid to the apportionment of gifts according to considerations of kinship status and specific obligations being acknowledged.

626 Visura are challenge feasts of an avowedly competitive and [578] hostile nature made in connection with unresolved disputes such as [574] encroachment on land, or the stealing and unauthorised killing of [614] pigs. They generally occur at the inter-, but neighbouring, clan level and incorporate the powerful sanction of shame for the individual or group challenged. The procedure is for the party levelling the initial accusation to hold a feast, invite the other, make a gift of food to them, and then challenge them publicly to reciprocate with a feast of equivalent scale. A failure to match it can only result in humiliation.

431 The type of gift made as a gesture of friendship or appreciation, 572 but not normally reciprocated, is known as umbare. Such gifts are 574

[1] See p.26 for a description of the circumstances under which feasts are arranged.

A,[See Category 574, p.26--Analyst]

431 only made with people from distant villages, who may or may not be
572 kinsmen, and they always involve a visit to the party making the
574 gift. This may be followed by a return visit at a later date but there is no necessary sequence or routine. Gifts made to relatives coming from a considerable distance to attend a mourning and those received as the specific motive for a visit (as in the case of Orokaiva going to the Managalase to receive di (feathers)) are both categorised as umbare.

121 Such exchanges and transfers of goods can be seen to operate within clearly-defined social contexts. Sahlins (1965:139) notes that 'A material transaction is usually a momentary episode in a continuous social relation'. He continues,

> A specific social relation may constrain a given movement of goods, but a specific transaction - 'by the same token' - suggests a particular social relation. If friends make gifts, gifts make friends. A great proportion of primitive exchange, much more than our own traffic, has as its decisive function this latter, instrumental one: the material flow undervrites or initiates social relations. Thus do primitive peoples transcend Hobbesian chaos. For the indicative condition of primitive society is the absence of a public and sovereign power: persons and (especially) groups confront each other not merely as distinct interests but with the possible inclination and certain rights to physically prosecute these interests. Force is decentralized, legitimately held in severalty, the social compact has yet to be drawn, the state nonexistent. So peacemaking is not a sporadic intersocietal event, it is a continuous process within the society itself....
>
> Even on its strictly practical side, exchange in primitive communities has not the same role as the economic flow in modern industrial communities. The place of transaction in the total economy is different: under primitive conditions it is more detached from production, less firmly hinged to production in an organic way. Typically, it is less involved than modern exchange in the acquisition of means of production, more involved with the redistribution of finished goods through the community. The bias is that of an economy in which food holds a commanding position.... It is the bias also of a domestic mode of production.... It is the bias of a social order in which rights to control returns go along with rights to use resources of production, and in which there is very limited traffic in titles or income privileges in resources. It is the bias, finally, of societies ordered in the main by kinship. (Sahlins 1965:139-41)

Individual exchanges are not, therefore, spasmodic acts. Together they form a system founded on the network of social relations. This

628 village. Williams, in marking out his "Waseta tribe," with Waseta
619 at the centre, excluded the Soroputa people from this "tribe"
(vide Map X) A but "intra-group morality" definitely prevailed
[266] between Soroputa and neighboring Sivepa. There never were
cannibalistic raids between these two villages, which included
each other in their "intra-group morality" circle.

It so happens that the people who were brought together at Ilimo consisted preponderantly of members of what Williams called the "Waseta tribe." The only bonds existing between the members of this tribe were the individual kinship and friendship networks and the solidarity of "intra-group morality" circles. The camp was built as a set of separate villages, each under its own village constable, eating and living separately, though more
[572] closely together than formerly. I obtained from a number of Sivepa
[582] men a list of "friends" and inquired into the occasion when the friendship started; in no case did it start at Ilimo. On the other hand, the camps led to a number of marriages between people from different villages. This tendency was especially pronounced at Hohorita, which is understandable as so many refugees had lost their families during the eruption. In Sivepe I found one case of a man who married an Agenehambo woman whom he met at Ilimo.

731 If "tribal" solidarity was dubious before the Ilimo camp
628 period, (the atmosphere of an evacuation camp was certainly not
619 a suitable one for developing it. Both Belshaw and Keesing emphasize the anxiety of the inhabitants, their strong desire to return to their home villages, while I have also emphasized their distrust of "others" who might wish to occupy their land; these "others" would inevitably be other members of the Waseta "tribe," although perhaps the Europeans were likewise suspected of predatory aims. (For such suspicion, I do not, however, have evidence.)

A sense of district solidarity did tend to grow up after the eruption, but it can be traced to formal organisations in which Orokaiva occupied roles which brought them into contact with people from other villages. Sometimes these were élite roles, which will be considered below; sometimes they were roles open to anyone, such as that of worker in paid employment, patient in a hospital, pupil in a secondary or advanced primary school, participant in a large-scale public celebration, such as were held in Popondetta and Saiho.

657 The government is actively attempting to create among the
571 Orokaiva larger solidary units than existed in the past. We may thus explain the various attempts that are made to bring Orokaiva people together in the local government council, at numerous sports meetings and celebrations such as at Christmas and New Year, and by any other expedient means. Without the popular acceptance of the local government council the establishing of a land boundary between Sivepe and Soroputa or Agenehambo, to stay with my previous example, would have been hard to imagine. Yet it

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 9--Analyst]

659 was accomplished without any European power bearer making his
571 appearance and any sense of compulsion being created--the people clearly considered the boundaries advocated by the government to be in the popular interest. Yet the bonds of solidarity this being formed do not strengthen the unity of the so-called Waseta tribe but the unity of the Iligaturu council area as a whole.

628 In this section I have said little about Inonda, because
619 I did not have time to clarify what "tribe" Inonda really belongs.
[114] Williams' tribal map shows Inonda as Sauaha; Crocombe and Hogbin describe Sauaha, quite correctly, as a clan resident near the settlement of Dobuduru (where the people speak a different dialect, presumably that which Williams called Dirou). Clearly, the task of establishing "tribal" units in this district would need to be done again, if it is worth doing at all, which I doubt, for reasons already given.

Section 5: Contacts With Other Orokaiva

628 Generally, contacts outside the "Waseta tribe" are sparse.
[582] During the year, only one visit was made to Sivepe, in a kinship context, by persons from another district. This was a group from
[574] Kokoda, where a Sivepe man married 40 or more years ago, and the visit was from that man's children. Several Sivepe persons quoted as an ancestor a woman from Ajoro, a village close to Inonda. It turned out that all these linkages were due to one single event, namely the capture by the Isivita people of three Ajoro women during a raid. Two of these found their way to Garombi where they
[424] married; the third woman's son came to live in Sivepe. Descendants of the Sivepe man continue to exercise each year their hunting rights at Ajoro. I could not find other references to ancestors
[572] beyond the "Waseta tribe" apart from these. Some people mentioned a friend, but rarely more than one, who came from another "tribal" district. Often these friends were found during employment, or at the mission school, or they were persons with special roles in mission or government, who had come to the Sasembata district in the course of their jobs. When women had such friends, it was more
[526] often due to a kinship link. An interesting example of the extending of such links under modern conditions occurred when a man from Sasembata village, employed in Kokoda, invited a number of fellow workers to Sasembata for a football game. These men were likewise in Kokoda for employment and came from the Aiga district.

[659] When the members of the "Waseta tribe" were accommodated at
[731] Ilimo, they were not only the guests of the government which
[574] supplied food and other comforts, but also of the people of Ilimo village who had agreed to the camp being established. From the little I could find out about relationships between hosts and

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Rich data on the symbolism defining the *philia* relationship in religio-philosophic terms are available in Strathern (1971). I have already expounded elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1972) that the theme of *philia* (its establishment, disruption, and restoration) is a central issue in New Guinean thought and that it enters into many levels of culture: geographical, zoological, social, magical, religious, and aesthetic.

THE OROKAIVA CASE

Up to this point, I have given some empirical illustrations of simple analytical distinctions. Thus, we can no longer take for granted that the *philia* universe always consists of friends and kin for it may define all friends as kin (as in the Maori) or vice versa (as in the Telefolmin). On the other hand, there are societies where the distinction friend/kin is of subordinate importance because the *philia* universe is classified by different criteria such as cooperative/competitive (Tangu) or real/feeble (South Fore). Then again, there are societies where consanguinity is a distinctive criterion within the *philia* system, but only in combination with other factors (Melpa).

If the Orokaiva case, of which a description now follows, seems more complex than the preceding ones, this may be attributed, at least to some extent, to my method of presentation. While most Oceanic sources are too brief on the subject of friendship to enable us to go beyond summary statements,[5] the Orokaiva facts resemble those reported by Burridge (1957a; 1969) in many respects. But in some respects, the Orokaiva system seems more explicit. It differs from Tangu in having a slightly stronger patrilineal emphasis, less emphasis on collateral relations, and a stronger avoidance of affines. The Orokaiva marriage system, reported elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a), seems more highly structured. These factors are probably related to higher population density, larger social networks, higher soil fertility, and more pervasive warfare.

The Orokaiva (population 25,000) live on the fertile volcanic loam of the Mount Lamington foothills. Their main crop of taro once supported villages of six to twelve families, although now, the villages are often larger mainly because of pressure from the Australian administration. Williams (1928, 1930)[6] characterized the society as patrilineal with a strong bilateral emphasis. Women hold a relatively high position which is maintained

5 Early accounts of New Guinea friendship relations are in Mead (1938) and Williams (1940). Later accounts of a *namel* type of relationship are in Pouwer (1955) and Hogbin (1964) and of the *otavo* type in Heider (1970), Oliver (1955), Schoorl (n.d.). The "resemblance friends" found by Williams among the Elema are not unlike the fictive *simbo* of the Orokaiva.

6 Other useful sources on Orokaiva social organization are Crocombe and Hogbin (1963), Rimoldi (1966), Krinks and Waddell (1968), Schwimmer (1967, 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1972).

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through the close brother-sister links that endure after marriage and that are expressed through strong links between sister's son and mother's brother. Genealogies are brief, but the Orokaiva classify themselves into supposedly agnatic units by grouping together persons who respect the same plant emblem which is treated as an ancestor. Clans are dispersed, and although local clan groups continue relations after dispersal, they soon begin to intermarry.

In the Orokaiva *philia* system, the distinction consanguine/non-consanguine occurs, but only feebly. Far more important are three cross-cutting categories which may be briefly summarized as follows: 1) the cooperative alliance, centred on sibling and parental bonds; 2) the competitive group exchange system, centred on relations with affines and uterines; 3) the total interdependence relations existing between spouses and cross-cousins.

Previously (Schwimmer, 1970a; 1970b; 1972), I have shown that the Orokaiva kinship universe may be viewed as made up of these three main components. In particular, the symbolization of the conjugal bond does not coincide with either the cooperative or the competitive mode, but is expressed in the symbiosis of plants (such as coconut and areca) which exhibit both binary opposition and total interdependence relationships. The cross-cousin bond has the same components and, at least in ideology, a comparable strength.

In this essay, I shall present data on the friendship universe and show that Orokaiva have institutionalized friendships of several types, some of which are hereditary. I hope to show that each type of friendship corresponds to one of the basic categories of the kin universe. Thus, if my argument is correct, the same categories would hold for the entire *philia* universe of which kinship and friendship would become homomorphous components. Friendship would not have one specific idiom, but a set of idioms which have already been stated in *philia* ideology and symbolized in the religio-philosophic system. Friendship thus becomes a dynamic dimension of kinship. Superficially, it looks like a minor supplement of the kinship system, but it is essential in filling ever-widening lacunae in the kinship system and preventing progressive entropy.

Orokaiva Kin and Friendship Idioms

Between the districts where the data were collected, there are slight differences in dialect (Hohorita in the Sangara district and Sivepe in the Sasembata district), including the way kin and friendship terms are used. The Sangara and Sasembata people are tribe-like groups, hereditary enemies, with seemingly similar social organizations.

Provisionally, it is best to regard the Sangara and Sasembata nomenclatures as variants of the same system. I shall not deal here with intergenerational terminology since it is mainly used in a familial context, whereas

601 [571] our concern is with the total *philia* universe. Meaningful contacts outside the village tend to be almost wholly with persons of the same generation. I shall therefore discuss the intra-generational terms of reference and address, both in the kin and friendship idioms, and both in the Sangara and Sasembata dialects.

The kinship idiom[7] (discussed in detail in Schwimmer, 1970a) contains four consanguinal and three affinal terms; an oversimplified analysis gives the following meanings (for an explanation of the symbols, see footnote 7):

apa SS Sen G-O //C	*simbo* G-O X C	*dambo* Me SS G-O A
eambo SS Jun G-O // C	*ivu* husband	*hovatu* OS G-O A
du OS G-O // C	*ae* wife	*bi* Fe SS G-O A

602 601 Affinal relations, according to explicit Orokaiva norms, are cold, formal, and distant though polite, and restrained by strict taboos. Affinal terminology always carries the connotation of obligation and avoidance, and it is never suitable for easy informal discourse. Indeed, when a person desires to keep up easy, informal relations with an affine (and this occasionally happens), his only resource is to maintain whatever term of address he used before the marriage.

All the consanguine terms, however, are regularly used in addressing unrelated persons with whom hereditary friendship links exist, at least in the [171] Sasembata district. *Apa* and *eambo* are also used between men in the same context as the Maori use the term *hoa*; that is, informally and without any implication of kinship or permanent relationship. The wife of a fictional *apa* or *eambo* is called *du* (sibling of opposite sex), but never by an affinal term. The fictional *simbo* differs from the fictional sibling with regard to reciprocal rights and obligations, as will be shown below.

572 The following Orokaiva terms are used exclusively in a friendship context: *namei* (Sangara) or *apa/eambo* (Sasembata), designating a male friend of a male speaker in the same generation; *otavo* (Sangara and Sasembata) meaning a partner in trading or dancing, or a journey, or a war expedition – a

7 The following classificatory principles underlie the Orokaiva kinship system:
Consanguine (C): *Ego* traces relationship to *alter* through a chain of linkages based on filiation, or a shared clan name, or common birth in a distant village.
Affine (A): Spouses of consanguines of own and junior generation; co-eval and senior consanguines of those spouses.
Generational Removal: G-O: Same generation as *ego*. G1: One generation removed. G2: Two or more generations removed.
Sex of alter: Me: Male. Fe: Female.
Relative sex of ego and alter: SS: Same Sex. OS: Opposite Sex.
Relative sex in consanguineal linkages: //: Relationship is either wholly agnatic or wholly uterine. X: Relationship is neither wholly agnatic nor wholly uterine. It passes through at least one opposite sex linkage.
Relative age of alter: Sen: Older. Jun: Younger.

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572 less diffuse term than *apa/eambo*; *jao* (Sangara and Sasembata) designating a *namei* type of relationship between women, used commonly between unrelated married women living in the same village.

Friends as a Distinctive Set

601 The Orokaiva employ certain collective terms to designate the *philia* universe
572 or distinctive parts of it. Thus, the term *mamahane* (father's people) designates the agnatic group, *epehane* (mother's brother's people) the maternal relatives, *aerihane* (wife's people) the affines, and *japehane* (literally, grandmother's people) the father's mother's group. There is, in addition, a term *nameikamei* which comprises the total *philia* universe including an undefined residue of non-kin as well as all the groups listed above. Although Sasembata do not use the term *namei* (friend), *nameikamei* is heard regularly. In neither locality was a collective term found which exclusively comprised the non-kin in the *philia* universe.

The term *nameikamei* certainly covered, apart from the kinsmen, the (Sangara) *namei* category and the *jao*, terms which are both regularly inherited bilaterally. I cannot say for certain whether the *otavo* and (fictive) *simbo* categories would be included in the *nameikamei* group. These terms may be employed in fairly casual relationships, but in time, persons calling one another *otavo* may decide to use a sibling term, thus making the relationship hereditary.

Statistically, non-kin make up only a small part of the *philia* universe. A man might be able to list several dozen *nameikamei* in villages more than three miles from his home, and non-kin would make up only 20 to 25 percent of such a list. (It should be noted that my statistics are somewhat cursory, as I could never be sure that any informant's list was complete.) Visits from non-kin tend to be made at greater intervals than visits from kin and they last a shorter time. One could safely say that non-kin are, on the whole, on the periphery of the *philia* network, as is the case among the Tangu.

An interesting difference between the two systems is that the hereditary relationship which is between fictive brothers-in-law among the Tangu, is between brothers (*apa/eambo*) among the (Sasembata) Orokaiva. It would be considered not only chilly but frightening for an Orokaiva to call his guest friend *dambo* – affine avoidance being stronger than among the Tangu.

Orokaiva Cooperative Alliances and Reciprocating Partnerships

571 Cooperative alliances tend to vary in size according to the purpose of the alliance. In pre-contact times, the village was a cooperative alliance in war-
[621] fare and in large feasts, comprising between six to twelve households. For
[614] bridewealth and death payments, the alliance comprises the plant emblem group (Williams, 1925; 1930; Schwimmer, 1970a), the nucleus of which approximates a four-generation lineage, although it also has other members.

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But for most everyday purposes, the cooperative alliance is even smaller and does not extend beyond the three-generation family.

Relations with uterines, affines, and more distant agnates (that is, those beyond the lineage, and those who are resident in other villages) follow the pattern of competitive exchange. An example of what this implies would be the role of mother's brother as officiator at initiations. Elsewhere, (Schwimmer, 1970b) I show that ideologically, he is the proper person for the office, but that the father's brother and even the father would do as well. The mother's brother is not obliged to act; he is paid if he acts; furthermore he will act only if prior to an initiation, the neophyte involved has obliged his uncle by rendering him small services and being pleasant to him. Certainly the mo/bro si/so relationship is a warm affectionate one, but it is explicitly free from unconditional obligation. It is, in fact, the first formal relationship into which a person enters, where prestations on both sides are by free choice.

How can we explain that, at least in Sasembata, the Orokaiva classify guest friends with the sibling group (by applying the terms *apa/eambo* to them), whereas the Tangu use an affinal idiom? The answer is that siblingship has different connotations in the two tribes. Burridge (1969) emphasizes, above all, the amity that must govern the relationship between senior and junior siblings among the Tangu. If the junior sibling becomes unduly competitive, it is not held against him, but the relationship is redefined so that he becomes a *mwerkindang* – a competitor instead of a subordinate and protégé. The Orokaiva do not permit such a change in status; the younger brother must obey or sever his relations with his family. Moreover, the *apa/eambo* relationship is not confined to the cooperative alliance but includes distant agnates and all uterines within the exogamous group. A good deal of competition and exchange normally occurs between such kin, although the ideology of the *apa/eambo* relationship is basically that of a corporate group pooling resources for the support and protection of its members.

Secondly, the custom of classifying guest friends with siblings is not general among Orokaiva; the Sangara use the term *namei*. Furthermore, terminology is as much an ideological device as a reflection of reality. Use of *apa/eambo* means that people should behave *as if* they were siblings; that is, make free gifts instead of exchange gifts. These terms may be used when one seeks to extract a presentation from a comparative stranger, in which case they mean little more than an appeal *ad misericordiam*. In an hereditary friendship in which it is unusual to make claims, the terms signify that the gifts made to a visiting friend are not repayable but free. Certainly, it would be considered wrong to press claims on the basis of such gifts. On the other hand, the host is expected (*not* merely permitted) to make a return visit, and if he does not present gifts on that occasion, he will certainly be the subject of gossip and loss of reputation.

In considering the manner in which these gifts are given, Sahlins'

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(1965) distinction between generalized and balanced reciprocity may be useful. Let us note, however, that the relationship between the fictional *apa/eambo* is one where kin distance is infinite (they are not kinsmen) so that according to Sahlins' model, balanced reciprocity should apply. Instead, the norm is generalized reciprocity, as one gives all one has, be it much or little. The crux of the *apa/eambo* relationship, real or fictional, is that property is pooled and belongs to all members of the group equally. When brothers live together, or when they hold land in common and thus are able to live together, such pooling occurs perpetually. Hereditary friends meet rarely – frequently not even as often as once a year. Thus, their ability to use the pool, or contribute to it, is limited. But the manner of giving emphasizes an ideology that is a pooling relationship. Hence, the return visit is obligatory for the host: the gifts given with the first visit express symbolically a statement by partner A to B: "you are my brother." But for the relationship to persist, B must be able to reply in the same idiom: "you, A, are my brother," and he can make this statement only by presenting gifts in his own village.

The ambiguity is now clear: the hereditary friendship relation is one between partners who act out the role of brothers. It is possible to show this ambiguity on the formal level of kinship terminology by inquiring into the term of reference and address used for the wife of an hereditary friend. By the rules of the kinship system, she should be called *hovatu*, but she is in fact called *du*, as the restraints of the affinal relationship are considered too irksome.

Changes in Group Membership Status

From what has been said above, it is clear that the principle of generalized reciprocity holds with regard to the equivalence of gifts between friends. The mythological charter explicity states that a small gift in times of shortage, is to be deemed equivalent to a large gift in times of abundance. On the other hand, the principle of balanced reciprocity holds concerning the pattern of exchanges, in that every visit is followed by a return visit, at the end of which balance is expected to be achieved.

Let us consider the development of friendship relations. In the course of a lifetime, a person meets many strangers of whom the congenial ones may become *otavo* or fictional *simbo*. He will be especially attracted to a few with whom he establishes a permanent kin-like bond, either on the *apa/eambo* or the *simbo* model. Occasions for such encounters may be feasts between previously hostile groups so that the groups of which the hereditary friends are members may not share the friendly feelings of the individuals who have become *otavo*, *namei*, *jao*, *simbo*, and the like. Thus, inter-community conflicts may come and go and the bond may continue over the generations. Far from this being a betrayal of group loyalties, the friendship

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bond is respected by both sides and utilized for purposes of mediation. The friend is not an ally in war, but his person is sacrosanct.

Hereditary friendships are more likely to fade naturally and quietly than to die violently in a quarrel. On the other hand, they may become converted to affinal bonds or lead to co-residence, in which case an entirely new pattern arises. It is possible for migrants into a village to have no bonds other than those of hereditary friendship with their chosen hosts. But once co-residence is established, the new arrivals soon become involved in intra-community politics along the lines suggested by Watson (1970): one of the existing factions woos the new arrivals to its side. A strong bond soon develops between the immigrants and the faction into which they are drawn. Intermarriage is likely to follow. A study of the composition of Orokaiva clans (see Schwimmer, 1970a) suggests that they are most often composed of a number of groups differing in local origin. These groups did not generally bear the same clan name prior to settlement, and sometimes they had no relatives at all in the village where they settled. (Still, it would be more usual for at least some members of the migrating group to have connections in the new place.) In the case of the Sorovi people who migrated to Sivepe in 1966, these connections were often of the fictive (friendship) *apa/eambo* type.

Apa/eambo and *jao* relationships are inherited bilaterally; that is, passed on to both the sons and the daughters of the partners. The only restriction is that both members of the partnership must be of one sex; hence if partner A has only sons and partner B has only daughters, the partnership will die. Similarly, it may die if the age differences in any generation are too great. Even so, under bilateral succession, one would expect that people would recognize far more of these partnerships than in fact they do.

We don't know for how many generations they actually last. Friendship bonds are remembered exactly as long as genealogical bonds – for two generations senior to ego – but some may in fact be more ancient. Friendship bonds are most likely to be kept up when partner A has no kinsmen in partner B's village. Thus, they fill gaps in the network. They are put under strain when hostility develops between the two villages, although even then the friendship bond often survives.

Friendship Obligations and their Ideological Basis

(a) *Apa/eambo* or *namei*. The ceremony of receiving a guest friend differs in some ritual features from the hospitality shown to affines and to consanguineal competitive exchange partners. When the latter pay formal visits, gifts are made on arrival. Sometimes, the guest does not sit down or allow his string bag to touch the ground until he is satisfied with the gifts offered. This is especially true if the partners are to reconcile a quarrel. Amicability begins after business is concluded. The gifts, in such cases, are made by the

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host family only. If the guests do contribute, this happens behind the scenes so that the host still appears as the sole donor.

When the guest is an hereditary friend, the host supplies a pig and valuables (such as feathers, ornaments, and nowadays, also money), while other villagers openly present the vegetable foods; the visit is incomplete without such participation. However, the gifts are not presented when the guest arrives. First, he is fed vegetables and meat (this is *pondo* or feast; an ordinary meal contains no meat); he converses with his host and sleeps in the host's house. No mention is made of gifts until the moment of his departure. If he hears any plans of gift-giving, he would be expected to refuse the gifts. The pig is killed secretly, away from the village. At the moment of departure, the guest is confronted with his presents, which he can no longer refuse.

We note that the symbolism throughout is appropriate to the cooperative type of relationship: amicability is not conditional upon the host's prestations; the guest does not desire the host to part with his substance. The host does not give demonstratively but stealthily, emphasizing the intrinsic rather than the extrinsic benefits the partners get out of the relationship. But in the wife's sorrow over the loss of her pig (a metaphoric child; cf. Schwimmer, 1970b), a more complex phenomenon occurs: she does emphasize her loss, though inconspicuously (only a strip of cloth tells the story: she tears off a piece of her skirt and uses it to truss the pig to a stick).

Even without this touch, the departing guest knows that the gifts he has received include some of his host's most treasured possessions. Having been in the position of a departing guest, myself, I am perhaps able to understand how Orokaiva experience it. As I was leaving Sivepe, and after all formal leave-taking was over, an old man from another village came to offer me one of his most valuable birds of paradise which everyone knew to be a source of pride to him. As I was unable (and not expected) to give anything in return at this time, it was an irreplaceable loss. There was no expectation of future gain but only the expression of a bond. These are the symbols they live by; this is how a previous stranger is lodged in the centre of their social world. Thus, it is absurd to call such friendship peripheral. The old man's bird of paradise was anything but peripheral; it was his most prized possession (almost his only possession). It was, in fact, the magic by which the nature of the relationship was transformed from a peripheral to a central one.

Certainly, such a relationship is largely free of kin obligations, almost as free as Burridge suggests with regard to the Tangu. Obligations are not wholly absent, even though they cannot be expressed in a kinship or economic idiom. The bond is based on feelings of attraction towards the personal qualities of an individual and it develops out of various types of shared experience. Unrelated males who are initiated together become *namei*. *Otavo* of all kinds (see section on Simbo, p. 65) may eventually become *namei*.

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431 But recruitment to this status is not restricted to specific categories; any two
572 people can become *namei*. These bonds provide some measure of control
574 over the flow of information, and a prudent man will establish them in places where such control is important. They serve to set up channels of information where they are lacking in the kinship-generated network. Unfortunately, neither my Orokaiva data nor any other Oceanic data provide much specific information on the channels which these relationships open up, although Burridge has referred to Tangu friendship as providing "a form of communication." On this basis, a friend's obligations would be to spread the renown of your friend, speak in his favour if others criticize him, advise him of anything that is being undertaken against him, and so forth. In practice, anthropologists have often overlooked such obligations towards their friends in the field.

572 (b) *Jao*. An important source of hereditary friendships, perhaps the most important of all, are *jao* relationships: friendships between unrelated women. A woman uses the term *jao* to address the wife of any *hovatu* (brother-in-
[591] law) when these two women are unrelated. A consequence of the rule of virilocal marriage is that the married women in a village tend to be unrelated
[582] to each other, having been drawn from a variety of villages in which various families had exchanged relations. When these women become friendly with each other, they call each other *jao*. Similar friendships are also common between women of adjacent villages even when their husbands are unrelated.

As such relationships are hereditary bilaterally, they may lead to a *namei* or *apa/eambo* relation between the sons of these women in the second generation, thus linking families between which no friendship existed previously. Moreover, if the daughters of the *jao* become separated from each other after marriage, they often continue their own *jao* relation, and visit
[431] each other's villages. They receive gifts on these visits, though on a more modest scale than the men do (as far as I could see, only vegetable produce was given). At times, they may stay for a few days before they return. It seems to be the Orokaiva wife's way of having a break from the domestic round.

123 Unfortunately, a male anthropologist cannot plumb the mysteries of this
572 relationship, as informants refuse to discuss it with any male, including their own husbands. A female anthropologist might find fascinating data; my only significant discovery was that women attach great weight to the institution, that it has secret aspects, and that it definitely binds males of the next generation. Married women certainly feel the lack of co-resident consanguines and the establishment of *jao* visits is clearly a substitute.

628 If two unrelated young women of district A are *jao* and marry in villages
572 B and C, this leads to inter-village links, not only between A and B, and A and C (links directly resulting from the affinal relationships), but also between B and C since the *jao* continue to visit each other, as do their sons. Hence, the *jao* institution is an important source of friendship linkages.

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Relationships of this sort are sometimes intertribal as women abducted by enemies were in the habit of maintaining contact with each other, and such contact was inherited by their sons and daughters. When men belong to an *otavo* relationship (see p. 67 below), their wives address each other as *jao*.

(c) *Simbo*. Outside the cooperative group, social relations (even with consanguines) are spoken of as voluntary. This applies especially to distant consanguines and non-resident consanguines. Thus, the kin category *simbo* must contain many members, if purely genealogical criteria are to be used. If two consanguines share no plant emblem and are related through siblings of the opposite sex, they fall within the *simbo* category (the term is not precisely equivalent to cross-cousins). There is no limit on kinship distance, and persons recognized as *simbo* may be cousins several times removed. Often, it is impossible to reconstruct the genealogical connection. Like Orokaiva kin links, this one is simply inherited from generation to generation (bilaterally, in this case).

As one cannot get informants to list more than ten or twelve *simbo* families dispersed in a number of villages, one must assume that *simbo* links, like those of hereditary friendship, are often forgotten. On the other hand, one may always rediscover a *simbo* while on a journey, so that there is a reservoir of unused links that can be revived. In general, however, a relationship can be relied upon only if it is kept alive by periodic contact.

The best translation of *simbo* would probably be: potential preferential marriage partner. While the primary meaning refers to a cross-sexual relationship, the male *simbo* have a special kind of bond which fits neither the cooperative nor the competitive exchange category. Literally, *simbo* is a marriage arrangement made when a girl has gone through the ceremony of menstrual seclusion and *kogumbari*,[8] but is not yet marriageable. Two aspects of the relationship between male *simbo* which are always stressed are the great love *simbo* have towards one another, and the rigorous taboo observances that are customary and strictly enforced.

The taboos resemble those practised between *dambo* (brothers-in-law); this is reasonable because if a man marries his female *simbo*, her brother becomes that man's *dambo*. The same taboos exist against mentioning the *simbo*'s name. All quarreling in the presence of a *simbo* is strictly forbidden. If a quarrel occurs nonetheless and *simbo* orders one to stop, one must obey or else pay a pig as compensation. If *simbo* touches any of one's possessions, one must give that object to *simbo*. A request made by *simbo* cannot be refused. This last rule about possessions and requests does not apply to *dambo*.

8 The term means decoration and is applied to face-painting, dressing the head with feathers, the wearing of shell and bone ornaments, armlets, fur arm pendants, and the like. A boy or girl is first decorated on the occasion of initiation. The dressing up is then usually done by an expert in the clan and paid for by the parents. For details see Williams, 1930; Schwimmer, 1970b, 1970c.

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The Orokaiva say that the *dambo* relation, although similar in many respects, is colder, more formal than the *simbo* relation. If a man dies in war, his *simbo* will die with him. The same intensity of feeling was not expressed about agnates. The feeling is the same where female *simbo* are concerned, except that "women cannot always do what men do." *Simbo* relations were especially important during the period of courting, war-like raids, and bravery in collecting war trophies.

The *simbo* relation resembles in many ways the kind of friendship described by Paine (this volume, pp. 117–37). There is a sense of worth having a *simbo* as a companion. The relationship is oriented towards what is regarded as the great things in life, principally love and war. It does not tolerate bargaining of any kind. It is not competitive exchange because *simbo* are not supposed to compete or exchange; it is not strictly cooperative either, as it does not bear the burdens of everyday obligations characteristic of the domestic unit. The taboos effectively separate *simbo* from each other on this everyday plane. In the mythical texts, we find an aspect of *simbo* relations not stressed in ideology: in them, the *simbo* are forever playing nasty tricks on each other, depriving each other of benefits that are requested, and stealing each other's girls. But in such tales, virtue tends to win in the end. They form a charter, in Malinowski's sense, for the rules about *simbo* behaviour.

In the *philia* universe, *simbo* occupy a special position; namely a rejection or negation of both the cooperative and the competitive modes. The cooperative mode, taken by itself, leads to entropy; the competitive mode, taken by itself, leads to perpetual conflict. The *simbo* relation is a synthesis of the two, as is reasonable enough if one remembers it is symbolically equivalent to marriage, as analysed by Aristotle.

Fictive *simbo* bonds are sometimes created between non-kin who are engaged in an appropriate common enterprise and who desire to express their mutual warmth of feeling. Such a relationship gives friends a kind of explicit claim on each other's property and services. Because of the name taboo which applies loosely in these non-kin bonds, *simbo* tend to address each other by special names known as *simbo* names.

For instance, one morning I was working on a task with a Papuan friend, when a visitor entered with a gift of eating bananas. My friend broke off a twin banana and shared it with me. "Now we are *be pije*" (banana men), he said, explaining that this was one of the *simbo* names most frequently used. If the two friends happen to find a twin areca nut, they become *be sa* (areca men); similarly one finds *be hinga* (pepper men) *be junga* (fig men) and so on. The relationship is extended to the wives of the fictive *simbo*, who become known as *ka pije*, *ka sa*, and so on. Thus, my wife became my friend's "banana girl." While such a relationship was not explicitly described as hereditary, it is easy to see how it can be transmitted from generation to generation.

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572 602 608 [824] The rejection of both the cooperative and the competitive relationship applies to fictive *simbo* as well as to the genealogical *simbo*. The sharing of a fruit is a ritual that is sometimes performed between a married couple; for example, when the community has decided to hold a feast. It symbolizes that the partners become one. But a twin fruit is not completely one; from another viewpoint, it consists of two separable halves. Here, it is again deceptive to speak of "fictive" *simbo*. Rather, it is more accurate to say that consanguinity of a certain type is one attribute of the tenure of a relationship while sharing a twin fruit is another equivalent attribute of tenure.

The basic concern of the *simbo* relationship lies in critical and dangerous enterprises, and inasmuch, it is reasonable to want the company of someone who, if necessary, is willing to die with his *simbo*. The relationship resembles marriage in its total interdependence. The Orokaiva system of classification is able to make a clear distinction between this pattern and the *namei* pattern with its far more stable socio-political setting.

572 [439] (d) *Otavo*. Friendships are more numerous now than in the past when travel was more dangerous. The *otavo* relationship, which may exist between cognates and non-cognates alike, applies primarily to a specific activity in which pairing is required. Its main starting points were, traditionally, trading and feasting. When a man visited a strange village to trade, say, lime, feathers, areca, or a string bag, *and* if buyer and seller were personally attracted to one another, then an enduring *otavo* relationship might develop.

572 574 Similarly, feasting occasions between villages often result in *otavo* relations. Partnerships have to be arranged for accommodating guests in host households. Sometimes guest and host families are strangers before the feast, but are paired together at a preliminary meeting. Such a relationship might be ephemeral but it is usual to keep to the same partnerships for the return visit. If the partners are sufficiently attracted to each other, an hereditary friendship will result. In the second generation, if not before, the *apa/eambo* terminology will be used.

[535] The term *otavo* is also used to refer to partners who choose one another specifically for dancing. The partners are of the same sex and they tend to stay together for long periods. They may or may not be consanguines.

572 *Otavo* relations are essentially competitive, both partners vying with one another in trade, prowess in war, hospitality, the dance. They also compete with the rest of the group in that some couples enjoy a higher reputation than others. Feasting partners make a great effort to gather many gifts for one another; competitive giving is, for the most part, on the level of households. Outside the activity, the *otavo* have no obligations toward one another.

In modern times, friendships can have many other starting points: work in a plantation, study in a boarding school, and other activities. Traditional connections were often with villages at the outer edge of the area where intra-group morality applied (in the sense of Williams, 1930), and sometimes a little beyond.

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572 For the present argument, it suffices to note that the term *otavo*, which neither implies nor denies the existence of a kin relation, designates an aspect of Papuan social exchange to which previous anthropologists have given most attention. As we have seen, the *otavo* represents only one of three modalities of Orokaiva partnership and the other two can in no way be reduced to it. Even the *otavo* relation is not solely concerned with extrinsic benefits, as a partner is singled out for personal qualities over and above the value of the objects exchanged. The Orokaiva, unlike other New Guinean tribes (for example, Pospisil's [1964] Kapauka) favour diffuse relations for all transactions.

CONCLUSIONS

602 I have shown that Orokaiva have a *philia* system comprising distinctive kin
572 and non-kin membership categories. The *philia* system was found to contain three basic types of relationships: the cooperative alliance, the reciprocating partnership and unions based on a total interdependence of parts.[9] The chart below shows these types represented by the same-generation consanguines and affines among kin and, corresponding fairly closely, among friends.

	Kinship	Friendship
cooperative alliance	*apa/eambo*	*apa/eambo* (*namei*), *jao*
reciprocating partnership	*apa/eambo* (nominal); *dambo*	*otavo*
total interdependence of parts	*simbo*; *ivu/ae*	*simbo*

The fact that these three relationships are found in both categories suggest that friendship can hardly be regarded as a type of relationship with specific role attributes. Characteristics such as detachment from home entanglement, common commitment, perilous causes, reckless mutual support, strong emotional attachment to one another which are all implied in Paine's sketch of modern friendship (this volume, pp. 117–37) and in the Orokaiva *simbo* relationship, do not exist in other Orokaiva friendships such as those between *namei*, *jao*, or *otavo*. The Orokaiva distinctions between the different types of friends have no parallel in Western culture, but they reflect a clear

9 I borrow from Burridge (1969) the term "parts" which is pleasantly ambiguous, suggesting both roles in the theatrical and sociological sense, and moieties or segments in social organization. Burridge does not explicitly set up a third category of relationships containing terms such as husband/wife and *simbo*, but rather describes an "ideal" of relationships when a full equivalence of prestations (*mngwoingwotiki*) is achieved. This state of equivalence must be reached by two families before they enter into a marital union. The notion of "total interdependence of parts" (see Schwimmer, 1970b; 1970c) is clearly of the same type.

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grasp of certain fundamental psychological principles. For instance, the Orokaiva classification scheme relates the *simbo* kind of friendship symbolically to the marriage bond which, indeed, has the same quality of total interdependence between persons whose consanguineal links are distant, if present at all. Some friendships are indeed of this kind but not all: the Orokaiva system reflects this fact in that some non-kin relationships are classified as *simbo* while others are classified as *apa/eambo*, *otavo*, and so on.

If we cannot distinguish friendship from kinship on the basis of the content (the role attributes) of relationships, it is possible to make a distinction of a formal kind.[10] One characteristic of all friendship relations is that the partners are kept free of ritual avoidances such as those between affines. The wife of a sibling type of friend is given a sibling term of address; the wife of a *simbo* type of friend is herself classified as *simbo*. Another formal characteristic of all these relations is that they are equivalent, but additional to the kinship links of the same type.

The continual threat of warfare and disruptive disputes impels persons to maintain a number of residence and alliance options in many places. Friendships develop especially where the kin universe is inadequate in supplying these options and leaves dangerous gaps in the network; Orokaiva friendship patches the gaps in this network. This seems a humble and subsidiary role indeed. Nonetheless, the existence of a regular mechanism to fill these gaps makes a crucial difference to the nature of the total system. The fact that there is an institutionalized freedom of recruitment of members to each of the *philia* categories opens up the system and gives it a dynamic flexibility. Ascriptive criteria need never fully determine membership groups because a dimension of freedom in recruitment is given by the friendship customs.

This fact offers a useful beginning for an analysis of the relations between Orokaiva and Europeans, as the Orokaiva system had from the beginning certain social concepts which enabled them to fit the Europeans into their scheme of social relations. The fact that they are strangers does not in itself leave them out of social recognition. Time does not permit this line of analysis, but it is worth remarking that in the absence of a friendship category, Orokaiva would not be able to adapt themselves as easily to the modern type of intercourse with other tribes and other races. The Orokaiva never had a truly closed society. They had rules for setting up relations with strangers, and these relations included marriages, as I have shown elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970a).

If we now turn from the Orokaiva case to more general questions regarding friendship, we may suggest that friendship is best regarded as a residual category within the *philia* universe, in that any *philia* universe must contain a regular process for the recruitment of strangers. Blau (1964) has described the psychological aspect of this process. The present essay has been

10 I am using "form" and "content" in the same sense as Levi-Strauss (1958).

574

574 VISITING AND HOSPITALITY--extent and occasions of visiting; social relationships characterized by reciprocal visiting; reception and entertainment of visitors; informal and formal hospitality; offering of food and drink; feasts and parties; etc. See also:

Drinking	27	Travel	484
Recreation	88	Banquet speeches	544
Eating	394	Wedding feasts	585
Gift giving	421	Mortuary feasts	785

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TABLE II/5 (*continued*)

Activity	*Total hours*	*Percentage contrib.**
Both		*Men*
Paid work	1,128.8	56
Other crops – harvest	1,109.0	54
Sick – personal	442.6	53
Yam – harvest	412.6	53
Coffee – process	398.4	53
Collecting firewood	234.1	52
Social obligations – mourning	783.9	51
Other crops – market	66.9	51
Church services	1,946.2	46
Meetings	898.7	44
Fishing	165.0	44
Council work	824.2	42
Taro – maintain	2,551.6	37

* Where one sex carries out more than two-thirds of the work and where the total amount exceeds .01 per cent (29.0 hours) of the total hours active for the whole sample.

there is a ritual prohibition, for which I shall later quote the mythological charter, to hold a feast at all.

In any case, there seem to be two basic limitations to the size of a feast. First, the custom of restricting the number of guests to the inhabitants of *one* village, usually of about the same size as the inviting village. There are of course many variations to this custom but the principle of limitation is usually present. Secondly, the generosity shown to the guests, though outwardly most impressive, is restricted by the amount the guests can physically carry away. Though the food lying on the feasting platform looks inexhaustible to the observer, and the guests are capable of carrying away a heroic amount of food after a feast, the overall economic impact is minor.

Waddell remarks most interestingly that, in comparison with the main crops (taro, bananas and sugar-cane), a far higher proportion of dry season crops enter the exchange network. This applies especially to sago, breadfruit, sweet potatoes and yams. Waddell does not discuss nuts, but these are often given to friends and function as the small change of sociability. Both *tauga* and *puga* are stored for the season of shortage; betelnut is a traditional trade item. All vegetable produce is nowadays considered suitable for marketing. Villages near Popondetta have far more opportunity to sell or barter produce than the villages on the Mount Lamington foothills.

It is customary for animal food to enter the exchange network, either as a gift or as part of a festive meal to which guests are invited. Meat is ceremonial food, eaten for instance to mark the settlement of a quarrel. It is considered somewhat

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 31]

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431 phase would last about two days. Villages where I made very brief visits never
123 passed beyond that stage, thus remaining in my memory as exceptionally endearing in their generosity. Before I understood the system, I harboured romantic notions of going to live in these villages. In the second phase there would be frantic *hoija*. Everyone brought gifts, asked for tobacco, salt, kerosene, and rides in the car. People appeared to be most hurt when I would not drive into Popondetta every day, and take the whole village with me. Whenever I was offered any gifts or service during this period there would be an immediate demand for some desired benefit.

436 After some weeks, this rather aggressive barrage diminished. I found myself
123 with a number of regular exchange partners who brought me what it was presumed I needed and who asked me for more or less standard return benefits.

431 Two sorts of partnership developed: one type of partner expected a return gift immediately upon bringing me his own; the second type made gifts for which he asked nothing – they were represented as gestures of pure affection. Yet in the future an occasion would arise when I would be asked for, or would spontaneously offer, something in return. But this second type of partnership was far more similar to the kind of gift exchange the village people had among their fellow villagers or close associates. As more and more people shifted from the first to the second type of partnership, I could see something like a genuine exchange network building up. People trusted me enough to allow me to be in their debt for a while. I was thus approaching the stage when I would be regarded as a desirable exhange partner, or, to put it in Orokaiva terms, as a man of some moral virtue. It seemed to me that it was on my behaviour as an exchange partner that my status would ultimately depend.

431 Most of the significant events in which the village was involved were also concerned with exchange. While marriages, deaths, feasts and initiations were all occasions for ritual and magic, the gifts always loomed largest in everyone's interests. It would usually take at least a year, but often far longer, to accumulate the gifts needed for such occasions. During this period members of the family, local clan branch or village (whichever was the donating group) would be constantly on the lookout for money or gift objects that could be stored up. People would go looking for jobs. They would keep unused some
[628] clothing they had been given by a relative. Whenever a visit outside the village
[574] was contemplated, an essential part of the preparations was the getting together of the gifts that would have to be taken. Or when a visitor arrived, there was stealthy activity in the background to prepare the gifts without which he would not be allowed to leave. The size of the gifts would always be carefully planned, in accordance with the importance of the visit, the extent to which it was thought politic to do homage, and the availability of supplies. But the making of the gift would always be done in so casual a manner that one might easily believe it was totally spontaneous.

This manner must be affectionate and humble. But the wise man, in making a gift, puts his partner in his debt as much as possible without suffering undue expense, while at the same time enhancing his own status. At a later time, he will use his status as creditor to the best advantage. His concern is to foster a social relationship while at the same time seeking the acquisition of some scarce resource. Social and economic ends are pursued simultaneously. Thus Melanesian

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that it be there for his mother and father to eat. As he slept that night before the feast, Ombota stole the food. That man's garden was empty. He had no food, so he had nothing for the feast. Therefore, looking for food, he had stolen that taro for his mother. 773

The day broke, the feast was in progress and Gasi's mother and father were very hungry. Then Gasi looked about for them. Straight away his parents asked: 'Where did you prepare food for us? We are now very hungry.'

That boy asked in reply: 'Where is the taro I fetched for you?' – 'We have no taro and we are very hungry.' Upon returning inside the house to look, Gasi then saw that the taro had gone. So he went round the houses to look for that taro and saw it lying in Ombota's house.

As Ivi and Gasi quarrelled with Ombota, the mother and father went down to Erehata creek, taking with them their entire small house, as it stood on its posts. They floated down that stream until it met the river Embara. The woman's name was Jomiko and her husband was Sirere.

They stopped when they had reached a place called Sorovi-Ereremba. Meanwhile their sons, about to give the feast, inquired where their parents were but could not find them. When the battle (*isoro*) was over, Gasi and the oldest son, Havururе, went away to find their mother and father. Upon arriving at the place called Sorovi-Ereremba, they saw them where they had come to a stop. Their parents told them: 'We are staying here but you must go back and feast.' The sons then went back, but their mother and father stayed behind.

At that time, their parents' words were as follows: 'We are staying here. In bad times you will hear no speech from us but if times are good, and you intend to hold a feast, then listen to our speech.' Thus they spoke.

Sirere turned into a stone which is still there today. In time of hunger we do not hear his speech. In good times, when a feast is about to be held, we hear his speech.

My small tale about feasts is finished.

Before discussing the meaning of this tale, I should explain briefly some ethnographic details. It is customary to hold a feast on the occasion of a departure, so the brothers' decision to hold one agrees with modern custom. On the other hand, it is irregular indeed to hold a feast unless it is known in advance that there is enough food for all the guests. A feast is always preceded by elaborate and highly ritualised checks to make sure that the supply of taro is abundant. We may regard the tale quoted here as a mythological charter for these ritualised checks which are discussed in detail in Chapter VII. It is still usual, however, for guests at a feast to be fed in the individual households where they are staying. Thus the taro used for cooking would be kept, as in this tale, in individual homes. The gift taro, laid out on platforms, falls in a different category. 773 574

The house in which the parents floated away must be understood as the prototype of the feast house. This is a small structure placed at one end of the central plaza (*aruha*) of a village. It is built a few weeks before the feast and it is in front of and in the feast house that rituals are performed during the whole of the period that ceremonies last. We may take it that Jomiko and Sirere are 773 574 345

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773 574 demigods who are believed to have stablished the institution of building a feast house. As this couple were in the feast house during the fight, it may be assumed that they were, in a ritual sense, the feast-givers. A modern feast also always has a person occupying the office of feast leader who is charged with the ritual as well as the organisational tasks of the feast. This leader (*pondo kiari embo*) is a man acting alone, and there is no mention that his wife has any function. This is a curious discrepancy between myth and custom, especially as elsewhere in New Guinea the feast-givers are often an elderly couple (e.g. Landtman 1927).

773 574 787 I was told that the people of Hamburata, before holding a feast, always consult the stone mentioned in this tale. When the wind blows through it, it makes a whistling sound, and is the sign that a feast may be held. This may be regarded as part of the ritual precautions necessary to ensure that a feast will be successful, but it is a purely local custom. The rule that a feast may not be held in hungry times is quoted and observed by all Orokaiva informants, of whatever locality. For the purpose of my analysis it is more important than the rule concerning the stone.

773 574 This tale resembles the one previously quoted in that both are concerned with a quarrel (*isoro*). The affair at the feast was not just an ebullient sham fight (*embogo*), but a serious battle, as the term *isoro* implies. But the messages of the two myths differ, in fact they seem to contradict each other. The message of the feasting myth may be summed up as follows:

1. In original time, men might hold some kind of feast at any time, but since the days of Jomiko and Sirere such permanent amity was no longer permitted. The *isoro* ended it.
2. Feasting was henceforth permitted only after special precautions had been taken and special permission obtained from the demigod. It had become an exceptional event, for which a special feast house had to be built.
3. The main criterion for the appropriateness of a feast was abundance of food.
4. A feast could be permitted only if perfect peace reigned among the guests. If the guests quarrelled the demigod's spirit would at once depart and the feast would be ritually void or even calamitous.

773 574 728 While the *isoro* was mentioned in the myth of the stolen lashing leads to a permanent state of war, the *isoro* in the feasting myth leads only to a restriction on the occasions when feasts may properly be held, and a rule to keep the peace for the feast's duration. How can these two apparently discrepant ideas about the nature of *isoro* be reconciled? My Orokaiva informants considered the two myths as stating different aspects of the same principle. Certainly *isoro* is (or used to be, before the Australians came) an expression of mutual anger that will never end. But it may be briefly interrupted, and it is good that from time to time the anger should cease and that men should then come together for a common feast.

Williams describes these interruptions exremely well:

> The lively monotony of warfare was broken by intervals of peace. A truce-making was called *peka*, and the first emissaries were women who, born members of one tribe, had married into or been captured by the

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> other... Two or three from either side would spend a few days and nights with the opposite party, and after this the two tribes would meet in armed force on some common ground between their territories to exchange gifts of pigs and ornaments.... (1930: 166)

Williams emphasises that such *peka* were precarious and often mere stratagems for killing more enemies. Nonetheless, feasts were held at intervals, former enemies were invited to them, and when they did happen the slate of old hostilities was wiped clean. No doubt, hostilities of the same kind would often occur again once the feast was over. Nonetheless, if there was no treachery, the feast was an occasion when the estrangement existing between social groups could be overcome in a communion ritual in which primeval amity was restored.

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The notion of the feast as communion ritual is most clearly stated in a series of myths, of which the most widely known is that of Totoima. Some of the most celebrated stories about Totoima – his practice of killing men and eating them while wearing pig's tusks, and of killing and eating his children as soon as they were born – are reserved for other chapters of this work. All the stories about Totoima, however, have a similar ending: by some trick (his son stealing his teeth, his son feigning death and concealing a spear, his wife or sister raising many children out of blood from a cut finger so they could murder him) Totoima was killed in revenge for his iniquities. In many of the versions, which we shall discuss in Chapter VII, Totoima is neither fully a human being nor fully a wild pig but rather an undifferentiated pig-man partaking of the nature of both.

Totoima's body was cut into the joints into which pigs (and presumably slain humans) were traditionally subdivided prior to being shared out between guests at a feast. Those who ate the joints multiplied miraculously so that their descendants peopled practically the whole of the Northern District. Usually, at a feast, the joints would be given to the heads of different nuclear or extended families. In this case, the family head who received the right fore-leg became the ancestor of all the Mambare people; the recipient of the left fore-leg became the ancestor of the Opi people; the right hind-leg became Sangara, the left hind-leg Isivita, the head became the coastal people, the back Kokoda, the belly Togahou and the 'liver' Angerita. One might say therefore that Totoima was the primal ancestor of all these warring tribes, and as Williams shows (mostly in his unpublished manuscripts) all the tribes listed here have retained some similar story.

But Totoima was a primal ancestor in a special sense. Strictly, in most of the versions, he was not the sire of the people who ate his meat. He is not, therefore, an ancestor in a genealogical sense. But it was his meat that miraculously caused these small families to multiply into tribes. Thus it was his strength, his *ivo*, entering the bodies of those who ate him, which really caused the tribes to multiply. The tribesmen became the inheritors of his *ivo* and it was from this that their power arose. Totoima was their ancestor in the sense that they had his *ivo*. We are thus led closer to the underlying pattern of Orokaiva political philosophy. As a result of the primal quarrel, the affair of the stolen lashing, social groups were separated by a permanent *isoro*. At the same time they are bound together by a primeval communion, the common eating of

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Totoima's body, from which all derive their *ivo*. The feast seems to be the occasion *par excellence*, at which the primeval communion is re-enacted. This is, of course, a point that needs careful empirical demonstration, which will be given in Chapter VII. All I wish to suggest at this stage is the existence of at least one ritual device whereby the state of permanent *isoro* between social groups can be overcome, the re-enactment of a communion for which the Totoima myth provides the mythological charter. Such a communion may be brought about only by a long series of economic and ritual preparations, such as a feast requires; there must be an abundance of taro and of pig, there must be feathers and ornaments, new loincloths, musical instruments and guests willing to share in the communion. Above all, there must be skilful magic. Even then, the success of a feast is never predictable, and always hangs in the balance. Thus the communion between social groups, in this philosophy always remains problematic but, for various practical reasons (the need for alliances in a world at war) it is frequently attempted. The social philosophy of the Orokaiva, then, starts from the assumption of the gulf that yawns between man and man, and proceeds to delineate various techniques (of which the feast is one) to bridge it.

We are now able to see more clearly why among the Orokaiva social exchange is rarely effective unless prestations of economic value are exchanged between partners to mutual satisfaction. Relations between social groups are generally unsatisfactory and hostile, but they can be made harmonious if one side gives the other a feast, which the other side must reciprocate. The harmony thus established is an extraordinary state which is sure to be interrupted by subsequent conflicts, so that feasts must be held periodically to keep group relationships within the bounds of amity.

Relationships between individuals follow the same pattern, though gift exchange here takes the place of the larger and more formal feasts. If no presents pass between two individuals for some time, this is thought to signify a breakdown of amity and the gradual re-establishment of the *natural* hostility between man and man. Only gift exchange prevents Orokaiva society from presenting the perfect living model of Hobbes' war between all and all. It is largely for this reason that I have chosen gift exchange as the basic principle in my analysis of Orokaiva society.[2]

3. *Towards a Model of Exchange*

The feasting myth quoted in the previous section seems to me to embody the essence of Orokaiva social philosophy, in as far as it explains the basic nature of gift exchange relations. My next task will be to translate this myth into the more abstract language of social science, as must be done if its ideas are to be made part of anthropological discourse.

A feast tends to be held by two social groups between whom relations have turned somewhat sour. There may have been a war, or a murder, or some other grievous act of violence or there may have been no more than minor friction between them. One side may suspect that the other performed black magic against them. Generally speaking, however, by the premises of Orokaiva social philosophy, both sides will have been storing up some grievances against the other. Often neither side will be willing to admit to the major responsibility for

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the ill feeling that has built up; usually any attempt to assign guilt would lead only to further conflict, as the record is too tangled to be satisfactorily sorted out. The party which decides to hold the feast and to invite the other side may or may not admit that it regards itself as guilty, and that it owes the other side a debt. The past is simply set aside and the host acts as though the feast is a free gift, an expression of disinterested love and generosity. The guest at the feast accepts the same fiction.

Accordingly, if we regard a feast as an occasion for social exchange, as the Orokaiva undoubtedly do, the basic objects of exchange are repentance and forgiveness. Sometimes a few words are exchanged between host and guest to express this notion of forgiving and forgetting, though I do not suppose this is invariably the case. On one occasion I invited a man to have a feast with me, after some months during which he had been acting unpleasantly towards me for reasons I did not quite understand. I must have unwittingly offended him. After the meal he said: 'I did not really know you before now.' This implied that he was willing to forgive and forget whatever had previously annoyed him. At the same time, the fact of my inviting him indicated that I was sorry for whatever I had done wrong. What we were really exchanging was a willingness to change our attitudes to each other, which involved some effort for both of us. Whether this is, in practice, done genuinely or only ritually does not concern me here as I am discussing feasts from the viewpoint of Orokaiva collective representations. When two groups feast together, each has the obligation to feel sorry for any offence he has caused and to forgive any offence caused by the other side. It is only thus that the feast can interrupt the inherent enmity between man and man. Through the sharing of meat the two sides re-enact the communion existing in primordial times when men, as brothers, shared the body of Totoima.

An essential part of any feast is that the host should offer meat to his guest. But it is a total misapprehension of Orokaiva social philosophy to believe that it is the meat that is being exchanged for forgiveness. If that were so, it would not be essential for the two parties to consume it together. Certainly, if I have offended another person, I may make him a gift of meat in reparation. This is often done. But the reconciliation between the parties is not effected by such a gift alone. There must in addition be commensality (the common eating of taro) and communion (the common eating of meat). The meat used in such a communion is not an object of exchange. It is better described as a mediating element which makes possible the actual transaction (i.e. the exchange of repentance and forgiveness). Orokaiva are quite definite that there can be no true repentance and forgiveness between men unless meat is consumed between them. One may therefore regard meat as a *necessary* mediating element in this transaction.

Perhaps the most useful insight to be derived from Orokaiva social philosophy is that the natural form of a social relationship is cyclical and moves regularly from hostility to reconciliation and back to hostility. In other words, the Orokaiva do not see the model of a friendship, as do Westerners, in the form of a perpetual harmony, so that every conflict that arises is regarded as a deviation from the model. On the contrary, Orokaiva consider conflict as intrinsic to the model. This is true also in the discussion of quite intimate relationships: father and son, husband and wife, and so on. The perfect relationship is not one where

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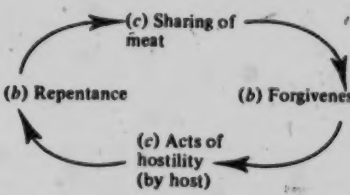
829 571 no quarrels occur (Orokaiva do not seriously envisage such a relationship), but one where quarrels are resolved before they have gone too far. The Orokaiva would feel more affinity with the sociology of Simmell and Blau than with that of Weber and Parsons. A bad relationship is one where the cycle *reconciliation – quarrel – reconciliation* is interrupted, and the relationship is broken off, or the quarrel intensified until one of the parties resorts to sorcery.

829 571 We may express this view of social relations diagrammatically in the following simple model, where (*a*) stands for exchange partners, (*b*) for objects of exchange, and (*c*) for mediating elements.

574 MODEL 1



This model, first of all, contains three binary oppositions. The exchange partners are represented as opposed to one another. This corresponds to empirical reality because at any feast the persons present always belong in one of these two categories. Secondly, there are two objects of exchange between which a conversion takes place. One partner gives repentance and receives in return forgiveness. I have already pointed out that in practice both parties may feel guilty so that both may be offering repentance and forgiveness at the same time, but this is not essential and not included in the model. Furthermore, I have assumed that the host is the repentant party. This assumption is made because the person who gives the feast demonstrates thereby that he is more anxious than the other to restore the relationship. It is he, therefore, who is playing the humbler role and this is expressed in the model by making him the 'repentant' party.

It will be clear that an expression of repentance does not necessarily imply that the other party will offer forgiveness. A man may invite another to a feast and the other may refuse to come. In that case there has been repentance but no forgiveness and no feast. The exchange cycle has been interrupted by the other's refusal. But if the guest comes, he indicates that he is at least willing to forgive. Even then, the transaction may break down. There may be angry words between host and guest; the guest may expect some additional reparation and not be satisfied with what he gets. The ideal model of Orokaiva social relationships, however, assumes that the conversion will be successful.

The third binary opposition is between the mediating elements. I have already said that Orokaiva social relations move from a state of permanent strife marked by acts of hostility to temporary reconcilations mediated by the common eating of meat. There is justification for treating these concepts as binary oppositions. I have demonstrated that the common eating of meat is a mediating element because without it no exchange of repentance and forgiveness takes place. It

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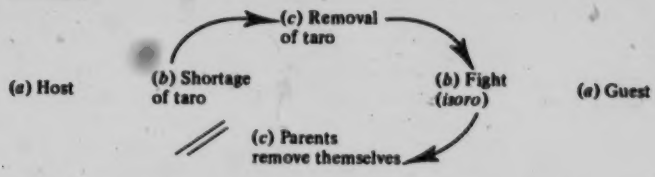
goes without saying that acts of hostility are also mediating elements as, in their absence, there would be nothing to repent or to forgive.

In addition to three binary oppositions, the model contains a cyclical movement. One may start reading the diagram at any point on the cycle. For instance, one may start with acts of hostility, *isoro*. (According to Orokaiva philosophy, such acts require no special explanation.) These are followed by repentance, shown by the host in inviting the victim of these presumed acts of hostility to a feast. The sharing of meat follows, after which the guest, either in words or gesture (and probably by subsequent actions), indicates that he has forgiven whatever he had been angry about. Then, sooner or later, social relations lead to new acts of hostility and the cycle starts again.

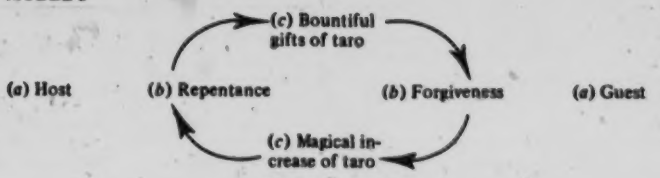
While this model expresses adequately the Orokaiva view of social relations, we must admit at once that the feasting myth from which it was derived communicates a more complex message than this. It deals, in fact, with two exchange cycles at once, but overtly the myth does not mention the sharing of meat at all. On the contrary, it is concerned only with the sharing out of taro. The exchange partners are again host and guest; the exchange, as told in the myth, is between a shortage of taro provided by the hosts and a fight provided by the guests. The mediating elements are: the removal of the taro by a thief (arising out of the shortage; bringing about the fight) and the removal of the demigods responsible for the feast. The exchange cycle created by these elements reproduces the sequence of the myth:

MODEL 2



It will be noticed that the exchange cycle is incomplete. In the next section of this chapter, I shall show that exchange cycles in myths are always incomplete, and I shall explain why this is a special characteristic of myths. Indeed, the chief message of the feasting myth is that the incomplete cycle shown above should *not* be repeated; instead it is the following cycle that has become institutionalised:

MODEL 3



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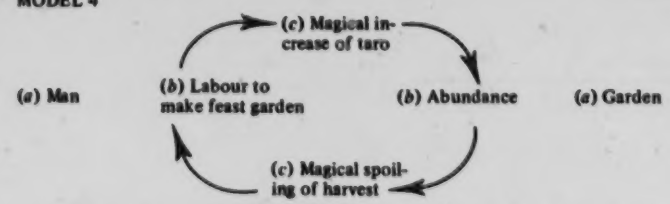
829 571 574 [243] [789] This model is very similar to the exchange cycle in which meat is served as the mediating element. I have already pointed out that taro, displayed on a huge and impressive platform, is an essential part of the gifts offered at a feast. I did not then quote the folk explanation of this. I was told that harvest feasts are beneficial to the donors because feasts make the taro grow well. On further enquiry I found that the Orokaiva believe that taro *always* grows well except if sorcerers from other villages put a spell on it. One of the rituals at a feast is a kind of rain-making ritual performed by medicine men from among the *guests*. When I asked: 'Why the guests?', I was told that they would be expert at removing the bad magic from the gardens because, in all probability, it was they who put it there! We can now see why it is that the guests' forgiveness, in the model, leads directly to a magical increase of taro. I was also told that the increase in the taro harvest would enable the hosts to give another feast soon afterwards. As this second feast would normally not be given to the same group as the first, the idea suggested by the model is that successful feasts enable a village to give an infinite series of feasts, thus attracting an infinite number of allies, one after the other, and becoming infinitely powerful.

574 182 [243] [789] [728] In reality, however, this infinite series is interrupted by disappointing harvests and other misfortunes. Such misfortunes are ascribed to the sorcery of enemies, and in order to remove this sorcery, a *peka* is made with the enemies. A feast is held; and it is thought that matters will again improve. There is a periodicity of shortage and abundance, coinciding with the quality of external relations. Prior to the *pax Australiana*, bad external relations caused frequent warfare, the marauding of gardens or the lack of attention to gardens. Feasts had to be held occasionally so that the intensity of warfare would not lead to a serious depletion of food stocks. Feasts thus produced an abundance of food, because they provided peace, or at least a respite from war. The institution of feasting kept the scale of warfare down to a level which the people could economically afford. This ecological basis of the cyclical movement between war and peace is well documented in Rappaport's book about the Tsembaga (1968).

574 243 In terms of the model developed in this chapter we may express this cyclical process as follows:

MODEL 4



This exchange cycle belongs to the level of ecology rather than of social relations. The exchange partners in the model are man and his garden. The objects of exchange are the man's extra labour, needed to make a feast garden, and the abundance of taro that his garden can provide in good seasons. But it will not do so merely in response to man's labour. Labour alone cannot

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guarantee success. The transaction between man and his garden must be mediated by the holding of a feast that will dispel noxious influences by which sorcerers have, in the past, spoilt a man's garden. After the feast, the garden will produce abundantly, but this abundance will not last. In fact, the resumption of social relations will lead naturally to hostility; again sorcery will spoil the harvest. Sorcery mediates between man and his garden to impel the gardener to make a new feast garden; thus the cycle is repeated.

This model (No. 4) expresses a point to which my Orokaiva informants returned time and again. The most important benefit an Orokaiva expects to get out of a feast is not improved social relations but a better taro harvest. The rituals of repentance and forgiveness which entered into models 1 and 3 are magical performances with improvement of the harvest as their ultimate purpose. Thus it is wise not to restrict our study of exchange to the social and economic levels only, because the basic transaction may occur on a quite different level, in this case between man and his garden. The method of analysis I am proposing here has the advantage that it moves with equal ease on all levels at which collective representations exist.

4. *The Starting Mechanism*

In this chapter I first sketched Orokaiva social philosophy; I then abstracted some simple diagrams to represent this philosophy. Some elements of the exchange cycles represented by these diagrams are found in all or most cultures. All cultures have transactions between hosts and guests; all agricultural societies have transactions between man and his garden. Exchanges of social objects such as repentance/forgiveness, labour/abundance arise out of universal tendencies of man or nature. There is, however, nothing universal or logically necessary in the particular mediating elements appearing in these diagrams. Meat and taro, good and bad magic, *peka* and *isoro* – these are all peculiarly Orokaiva means for the mediation of social exchange. When Homans and Blau developed their (sociological) theory of social exchange, they gave no systematic attention to mediating elements, and rightly so, because their interest was universal laws, and mediating elements are never universal. However, for the anthropologist, who usually treats cultures as a significant variable, the mediating elements are of special importance.

Nonetheless, even if particular mediating elements are not universal, the use of mediating elements is a universal characteristic of social exchange. Sociologists, by ignoring this fact, have occasionally found themselves in difficulties, as for instance in their discussions about the 'starting mechanism' of social exchange. Gouldner posed the problem clearly in his essay on 'The Norm of Reciprocity' (1960: 177):

> Let us suppose two people or groups, Ego and Alter, each possesses valuables sought by the other. Suppose further that each feels that the only motive the other has to conduct an exchange is the anticipated gratification it will bring. . . . At least since Hobbes, it has been recognised that under such circumstances each is likely to regard the impending exchange as dangerous and to view the other with some suspicion. . . . Thus the exchange may be

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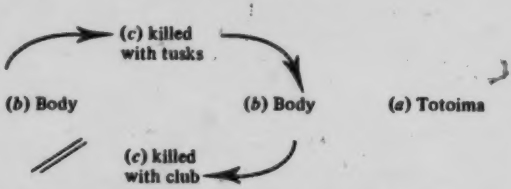
776 son (a man) killed his father with a club, a human weapon. Furthermore, the
773 order of superiority was reversed: it was now no longer man who was killed by a tusked being; man became the killer, pig became the quarry.

171 From this analysis it would appear superficially that it is not Totoima but his son who ought to have been revered as the *dema*. It is he, after all, who has effected the differentiation between man and pig, who has provided man with pig as his quarry. But this is not how the Orokaiva reason. It is the same with the *dema* Pekuma to whom the technique of meat-roasting is ascribed. Pekuma is not the man who invented, by his own ingenuity, the technique of meat-roasting. He was the victim of another man who played a trick on him, dropped him in a hole, and roasted him. He tasted delicious. The Orokaiva remember Pekuma because he *was* the first roast meat and Totoima because he *was* the first quarry. The gift for which they are celebrated is not their inventive ingenuity but their body, in the form of food. Like the victims of cannibal raids, to whom Jensen devotes a lengthy discussion, the *dema* release their spirit power by the deed of being sacrificed, and this spirit power then becomes available to the killers and to all men.

We have seen, however, that the killing of Totoima was not an isolated event; it was done in response to Totoima's own murderous activities. As Jensen points out, in the life history of the *dema* some fault usually occurs, either committed by the *dema* or someone else, which is represented as the cause of death. We may thus, to some extent, view *dema* myths as a special kind of truncated exchange cycle. Totoima's story, for instance, might be represented in the following diagram in which Man and Totoima are the exchange partners, both of whom offer their body as an object of exchange (or sacrifice):

MODEL 5



In this as in all myths, the exchange cycle is incomplete, as the completing of the cycle in the model would imply that the cycle is intended to repeat itself *ad infinitum*. But the whole point of the myth is that after Totoima it is no longer normal for man to be killed by a pig's tusks, but that pig becomes the normal quarry of man. The world, indeed, has been completely transformed as a result of pig having become man's quarry. Man is now able to multiply rapidly, deriving a great new strength from the pig-meat he is able to acquire. The exchange cycle shown in model 5 has therefore, since that time, been replaced by institutionalised feasting where pig sacrifice appears as an essential mediating element (model 1).[A]

773 We may therefore regard truncated exchange cycles such as are shown in
● 574 models 2 and 5 as the starting mechanism of Orokaiva exchange. To put this more concretely, let us consider the large platform heaped with taro that is

A [See Category 574, p. 58--Analyst]
B [See Category 574, p. 59--Analyst]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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exhibited at every feast for guests to take home. This is an essential mediating element in the social exchange between hosts and guests, and appears as such in model 3. But why does this taro have to be there? What does it do? Why can it function effectively as a mediating element between guests and hosts? The answer to these questions lies in the myth about the origin of feasting (model 2). This myth tells the Orokaiva that if they have a big heap of taro at a feast, they *can* have effective social exchange between hosts and guest. The myth also tells them that this heap of taro is essential. The starting mechanism thus provided by the myth for the social relationship is essentially a magical one. It is a magical code rather than a moral norm, even though it has become institutionalised almost like a norm. Of course, the starting mechanism, like all magic, can fail on occasion. But unless the magic is used, there can never be social relations.

REFERENCES

1 For location of Hamburata, see Fig. 10.

2 After writing this chapter, I found that Sahlins has also been interested in Hobbes' social philosophy as in some way anticipating contemporary ideas about primitive exchange ('Philosophie politique de l' "Essai sur le don" ', 1968). Especially close to Mauss' thought is Hobbes 'Fourth Law of Nature – Gratitude' (*Leviathan*, Part I, Ch. XIV).

A [See Category 574, p. 59—Analyst]

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Taro given for	*Maintaining relationships*	*Starting relationships*
Parts of plant given	tuber only	entire plant
State of preparation	cooked	raw
Donor's sex	female	male
Ancestral twin with which gift is identified	female sibling	male sibling

The giver of a feast is always a male. Taro is hardly ever the only gift made on a ceremonial occasion, as pigs, *hambo* etc. must also be presented. Nonetheless, taro is essential as a mediating element in the starting of a 'new' relationship.

What is the significance of taro gifts in this context? Sahlins' suggestion that staple food when used as a gift object is symbolic of hearth, home and mother seem less cogent here than in the case of gifts of cooked food discussed earlier. In previous chapters I have presented a method for interpreting actions aimed at the establishment of social relations. I suggested that some objects are believed to have a special potency in attracting partners and that this potency is believed to be due to the presence of the donor's spirit in the gift object and the transfer of that spirit to the recipient through the mediation of the object. The questions are these: why, and in what circumstances, can a *male* use taro for the mediation of social exchange? What is the mythical and philosophic charter for such mediation? What is the distinctive power of feast taro to compel the recipient to respond to the donor's wishes?

The spirit substance transferred by the *male* when he gives taro at a feast is derived from his ancestors who are present in the land and in the tops of the taro. Just which ancestors are thought to be present it is hard to say, but they include the dead of the lineage who have used the land and they also undoubtedly include the spirit of the original *dema*, Totoima. It is believed that only certain varieties of taro are capable of successfully transmitting spirit in this way. These are known as feasting taro (*pondo ba*). I obtained a list of them, but this list was not very instructive. It contained virtually all the taro varieties growing in the informant's garden, though I was able to identify a few grown varieties which were specifically stated to be unsuitable for feast taro. Only a small minority of plants growing in the gardens belong to these varieties.

Males can use taro for the mediation of social exchange only if they are feasting varieties and if they are displayed, complete with tops, in such a way that they may symbolically represent Totoima's son: lying on a *gaga* with their chests turned upwards. What message does this symbolism convey? Totoima's son appears in the myth in two apparently contradictory roles: that of victim (eaten by his father) and of victor (killer of his father). So much is indisputable fact. It is easy to see what the gift of a feasting taro might mean if we take this symbolism to its logical conclusion. The message would be: 'You may eat me now; I shall kill you later.' No informant actually explained this meaning to me and this interpretation is therefore no more than conjecture. It accurately represents, however, the actual traditional relationship between feasting partners. A man who gives a feast deprives and humbles himself; every one of his gifts is symbolically a sacrifice of himself. His feasting partner is, in a symbolic sense, his enemy with whom he is now becoming reconciled. In order to effect

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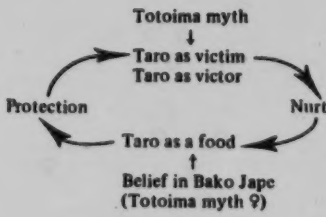
this reconciliation, he sacrifices himself symbolically in the form of his feast taro. But as the myth states, this sacrifice is not a final death. After the feast is over, the feast-giver is more spiritually potent than ever, having obtained the assistance of his own ancestral spirits. He is thus able to overcome his enemies.

Although these ideas are all in some way implicit in gifts of feasting taro, their threatening aspects are kept very much in the background, as the ostensible purpose of the occasion is to establish amity. If the gift represents a display, in very pacific form, of the donor's power, it also offers an opportunity for communion as the recipient consumes food imbued with the spirit of the donor and the donor's spirit thus becomes, as it were, part of him.

At this point we may summarise in a more formal manner the results of our analysis. The insight we have obtained into the meaning of taro gifts suggests that part of the Totoima myth may be represented by the following exchange cycle:

MODEL 18



This diagram does not represent the transaction between Totoima and his son (which has already been analysed in model 5)[A] but rather the transaction between the taro woman (Totoima's daughter) and the man from Managalase. Here the man acted as protector while the woman provided nurture. The man from Managalase is primarily a hunter. He arrives on the scene with a wallaby slung over his arm. When he finds Totoima's son with his innards missing, he replaces these with the innards of the wallaby, thus enabling the son to kill his father. Clearly the meaning is that man, while having nothing but taro inside him, becomes necessarily the victim of the wild pig (Totoima), but when he has meat inside him he becomes strong and able to kill the wild pig. Thus man, by his concern with hunting and the provision of meat, becomes a protector to his wife.

The Managalase is a neighbouring district where the main crop is yam, not taro, though a variety of inferior taro (*pijama*) is grown in small bush clearings. The Managalase magician is therefore in an intermediate position between Totoima and his son. Unlike Totoima he recognises the technology and domestication of taro, but inadequately as he is mainly a hunter. Such, at least, is the Orokaiva view of Managalase.

Taro, for the Orokaiva, is symbolic of strength; it is preferred to other staples because it is believed to build stronger men. The success of an Orokaiva feast is measured principally by the amount of taro that changes hands. It is significant that in the fighting between Orokaiva and Managalase, the former were most often the agressors and the latter the victims of cannibal raids, inroads on

A [See Category 773, p. 64--Analyst]

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CHAPTER VII

PIGS

1. *Introduction*

262 While taro exchanges serve to maintain the basic social network used in
●574 transactions, the pig is the most common object of mediation in critical
431 situations. Unlike taro, pig is not consumed as part of the ordinary diet, but is commonly described as a 'feasting food'. As feasts are held only to mark a crisis in social relations, it will be our task to investigate what makes pig meat specially
[146] suitable as a feasting food. One may, at the outset, answer this question with a remark about the physiological properties of pig meat: as the Orokaiva diet normally includes little first-class protein, any meal at which meat is served may be expected to have a specially invigorating and exhilarating effect. But in the present inquiry it does not suffice to give physiological explanations: our problem is to discover how the exhilarating experience of eating meat becomes symbolic and how it is magically utilised in the managing of social crises.

Pig meat is used both for the restoration of good relations after a quarrel or estrangement and for the establishment of new social relations. As such it serves
[773] a function in widening the social network. This function is hinted at in the basic pig myth about Totoima to which reference has been made earlier. When Totoima was killed, the joints cut from his body were distributed far and wide and caused all those groups who shared in it to multiply rapidly. This sharing may thus be regarded as a kind of communion which implies both social relations and the conferment of a blessing. Both these themes are strongly present in all ceremonies where pig meat is shared.

431 But there is a second theme as well: there is in every gift of pig meat the notion of a reparation, either for past services rendered or for past injuries suffered, even though these injuries on some occasions may amount to no more
[773] than the lapsing of social contact. The Totoima of the myth, of course, was guilty of many murders and his death was an occasion for dispelling many grievances. Thus the gift of pig meat implies not only a communion but also an expiation.

431 In treating pig as an object of mediation in exchange, I shall need to
825 demonstrate specifically that in certain respects a gift of pig resembles a sacrifice. It must be shown that the offerer identifies with the pig that is given away or sacrificed, and that there is a belief in the 'virtue' or magical power of the sacrifice both in establishing a social link between sacrificer and human beneficiary and in strengthening the spiritual state of the sacrificer himself.

[571 The data show that pig sacrifices may be regarded equally well as rites of
789] communion and as rites of expiation. The key to their significance, however,

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lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1]

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity. The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *dema* established consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic restoration of positive reciprocity.

2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle where it is believed that ghosts (*sovai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a *sovai* is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, states its message most clearly:

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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add lustre to a feast or to economise on domestic pig. Informants told me that for most ceremonial purposes, wild and domestic pig are interchangeable. In general, therefore, one may say that pigs are reared in order to provide a bigger and more dependable supply of pork. I was unable to discover any instance of a rule requiring *only* wild pig to be used for any kind of ceremony and declaring domesticated pig to be unsuitable. On the other hand certain ceremonial gifts of pigs are made between affines, where a rule stipulates that the pig *must* have been reared by a particular person – the bridegroom's sister or the bride's mother. Such instances have to be carefully studied, as they indicate that the value of the meat transferred in the transaction may sometimes be derived partly from the labour expended by particular persons who reared the animals.

We have already pointed out that some rudimentary sacrificial notions enter into a hunter's action towards his quarry, but it is only the killing of domestic pigs that can be described as *sacrifice* in the full conventional sense of the term. Williams (1930: 61) applies this term to the slaughter of pigs but provides no analysis of the sacrificial process. Such analysis is not altogether straightforward, as the anthropological study of sacrifice has hitherto remained confined to the application of two models: one derived from Robertson Smith after the analogy of Christian *communion*, and the other derived from Mauss, (1968: 193–307) whose chief inspiration seems to have been the doctrine of *piaculum* among the Brāhmanas (viz. Mauss 1968: 352–4). The wide applicability of Robertson Smith's model has recently been well argued by Stanner (1960–3) and Bellah (1964), while Mauss' model has been enshrined by such brilliant ethnographic applications as Evans-Pritchard's study of *Nuer Religion* (1956).

These two models have a great deal in common, but differ in final destination of the victim and the postulated aim of the sacrifice. As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out (1956: 275), the aim may be to keep the god away or get rid of him (as in Nuer piacular sacrifice), or to establish union or fellowship with him (as in Christian communion, and in Australian *intichiuma*).

Neither model appears to be very appropriate to Orokaiva sacrifice, as it is not clear at all just who the god is to whom the sacrifice is being made. The only divine agency that seems to appear in pig sacrifices, including the major feasts, are spirits, loosely described as belonging to the 'ancestors'. These do not appear to be specific personalised ancestors but seem to be identified with the demigod, or *dema* who instituted the feast, as well as with other *dema* who introduced the various products used at the feast as gifts, ornaments and the like, as well as with clan and lineage ancestors who are responsible for the well-being of the land. A big feast seems to involve the whole pantheon. If this were all, one could classify Orokaiva sacrifice as aiming definitely at communion, as the ritual preceding the feast and during the feast quite clearly has the effect of drawing the divine beings down into the village, and making them enter the persons of the celebrants who behave as though they are possessed by these spirits.

But in addition one must often regard the sacrifices as being made, in a very real sense, to the guests. There are of course pig sacrifices where communion with the god is the only or predominant purpose. For instance, it is customary to sacrifice a pig when new taro fields are prepared for planting and the flesh is shared between the men of the local clan group. Here the purpose is no doubt to bring about an identification of the men with the original ancestor who first

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successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema* figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen, uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered important ritual services.

An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party. This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable: the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering in a properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

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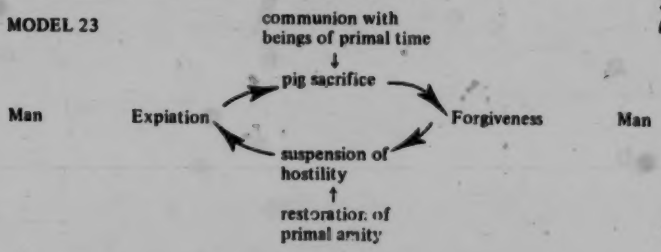
with divine beings. One might say with equal truth that the purpose of communion is expiation and that the purpose of expiation is communion. The transaction may be expressed in the following diagram:

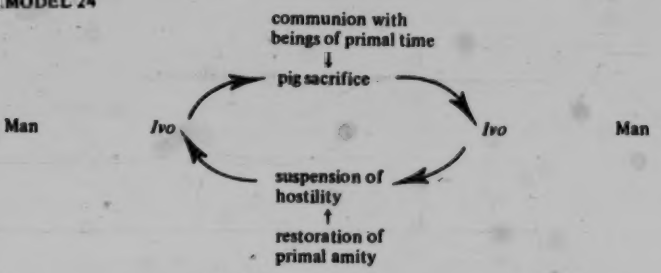
MODEL 23



In this model the object of exchange is clearly expiation. Expiation is mediated by a ritual feast through which all participants identify themselves with beings of primal time and therefore with a period when strife had not become established. This identification is established in the first place by the offender's group which makes the sacrifice. It induces the offended party to participate in the feast and thereby signal its willingness, at least in principle, to suspend hostilities. The purpose of identification is therefore the expiation of offences.

In order to account for the rule that the meat is carried away by the offended party and that it is taboo to the offenders, we need to construct a second diagram, as follows:

MODEL 24



In this model the object of exchange is *ivo* which each group confers upon the other. The exchange is mediated by a pig sacrifice which, according to the Totoima myth, effectively bestows *ivo* upon the guests, *provided* that they carry the meat away with them, and also upon the hosts, *provided* that the guests remove the debilitating influence of any deleterious magic they may have directed at the hosts at an earlier time. One may say here that the purpose of

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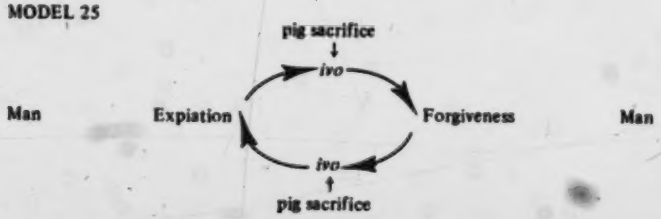
sacrifice is a communion, as the obtaining of *ivo* is ultimately dependent upon an effective identification of man with the power-conferring ancestors.

Models 23 and 24 may be reduced to a single one which shows the essence of the whole transaction:

MODEL 25



This model, which is on a more abstract level than the previous two, states that two parties standing in a relation of social opposition can establish or restore friendly association with one another through the *mediation* of *ivo* (the source of *ivo* being the pig sacrifices). This is the essential equation of social exchange. *Ivo* cannot be obtained by the offerers of sacrifice acting alone, but it is necessary and sufficient for efficacy if two parties participate, one in the role of offerer and another in the role of recipient. The roles of 'offender' and 'offended' are ritual roles in which the actual amount of guilt or shame felt varies widely according to circumstances. The assumption of such roles is made necessary because strife has a continuously debilitating effect on man's *ivo*. Like many other peoples (viz. Monica Wilson 1952: 99–112; 1959: 161, 165, 217; Burridge 1969), the Orokaiva believe that 'anger in the heart' weakens the man who feels it. But the Orokaiva emphasise even more the obligation of the offender to assuage that anger, however caused. Actual misfortunes are mostly explained by anger existing in someone else's heart. The guilty person is deemed to be he who, after being made aware of this anger, does nothing to remove it. If the angry person uses sorcery or does some other harm it is not he but the victim of retribution who should feel guilty. The oozing away of *ivo* as a result of strife can be reversed by the holding of pig-feasts at which the host goes through a ritual which contains elements of both communion and expiation, but which essentially serves the mediation of social exchange.

I shall now test the usefulness of this model by using it to account for some empirical facts related to Orokaiva pig sacrifice. I shall discuss, because of the relative wealth of available material, the sacrifices made at inter-village feasts at the time of the main harvest. I shall also show how gifts made between affines may be interpreted with the help of the model.

6. *Expiation and Communion in Feasting*

The decision to hold a feast might arise in two ways. First, there might be an urgent need to offer the feast to a specific outside group, e.g. to make peace, or return a feast to which the group had been invited. Secondly, there might be a

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desire to raise the prestige and potency of the group, to initiate a new age set. In that case, the village elders might well take the decision to hold a feast before they had determined precisely who would be the guests. Usually, a number of motives were present simultaneously: the feast would strengthen the prestige of the leader who gave it, and of that leader's village; it would build up alliances and allay hostilities, while at the same time some young people would be initiated and any other minor pending ceremonial duties discharged.

In 1967, all three villages I studied were involved in feasting. Inonda's feast was in return for the invitation from Sewa the previous year. Sivepe was inaugurating feasting relations with Togahou, a traditionally hostile village with which Sivepe desired friendly relations. Hohorita had held two feasts in the previous year and had received return invitations. The Sivepe feast of 1967 and the Hohorita feasts of 1966 provide an interesting example of the diverse arguments by which people may be induced to hold them. In the case of Sivepe, two generations had passed since the last war with Togahou. The abductions of that time had led to legitimate affinal relations and some reasonably peaceful marriage arrangements, but relationships had remained rather cool. The sickness of an old Sivepe woman married in Togahou led to a series of massive visits and to a desire on both sides to open feasting relations so as to bury old hostilities.

In Hohorita I was given the explanation that the feast in 1966 was held because 'feasts are what brings food', in other words feasts magically increase the yield of the gardens. Informants considered some of the important benefits of the feast to be that the first-born had been ritually blessed, that rain-making ritual had been performed, etc. But an analysis of the recent history of Hohorita made evident the presence of other motives. The village had been established in 1957, the inhabitants being the survivors of the Sangara tribe, which had lost over 90 per cent of its members during the Mount Lamington eruption. The establishment of the village had been followed by years of economic stringency, but at last by 1966 the economic effects of the disaster had been wholly dissipated, coffee trees had begun to bear, and the prime problem of the Sangara survivors became the establishment of friendly relations with surrounding villages. This was not easy, as the Sangara had been powerful warriors greatly feared by the rest of the Orokaiva. I found plenty of evidence that the Sangara are still far from popular.[3]

Sangara informants told me that they did not know which villages they would invite as guests at the time it was decided to hold the feast. The custom is, so I was told, for a prominent man to announce that he desires to give a feast. This man thereby assumes responsibility for a substantial part of the provisions that will be necessary. He must have wealth, but he must also have ceremonial knowledge and diplomatic expertise. Such a feast leader is called a *pondo kiari embo* – a feast expert.[4] Once this man has made the announcement the men present at the meeting will decide among themselves which village will be invited. It turned out that the first village chosen by Hohorita declined but a second village (Koipa) accepted. Although my Sangara informants did not overtly state to me that the purpose of this first post-eruption feast was to make peace or build up good relations with neighbouring groups, this was quite definitely the effect. We may conclude that feasts are normally decided upon for a combination of religious and political motives.

574 The first plans for a feast are laid at least one year in advance, as it involves
621 extra plantings of taro as well as economising on pigs. By the end of December,
244 the feast taro ought to have finished flowering and the tubers ought to have formed. It is only then that the chances of an abundant harvest can be reasonably assessed. The feast-giver stealthily tours the village gardens to see whether the taro are 'ready', collecting tubers in gardens where tubers have formed and collecting flowers in those gardens which are lagging behind. He hides these specimens in his house. If his examination has been successful, he calls a meeting attended by all the men of the village (but not the women) at which the assembled people formally acknowledge that they are planning a feast. The leader will display the taro and the flowers he has collected, thus demonstrating visibly whose gardens will and will not be able to contribute food to the feast. The meeting decides who will be invited to the feast. The men share the meat of an animal, traditionally a pig, but nowadays often a rooster.

This ritual is clearly intended to remove obstacles that might prevent
[773] harmonious social relations from being established at the feast. I have already discussed[5] a myth which contained a charter for this custom of examining the gardens: it told the story of a food shortage which caused a quarrel and concluded with the enunciation by a *dema* of a rule that feasts should in future be held only in times of abundance. It is not sufficient, of course, for the people to say and to believe that there will be abundance. Abundance must be established ritually so as to be placed beyond human dispute.

574 The pig sacrifice at this meeting serves to remove any latent hostility between
621 the men of the group, so that all will be united and co-operate unreservedly towards the success of the feast. Though the *pondo kiari embo* tends to be a
[554] man of much influence in the village, he does not normally have any authority over resources held by any extended family other than his own. It is only for the specific purpose of feast-giving that he is given such authority, and it is limited in time from the meeting just described until the day of the feast itself. The
[422] meeting thus temporarily changes the authority structure of the village. The
[425] growing taro crop and the available pigs become, at least ideally, the corporate property of the village, whereas normally they are family property. The *pondo kiari embo* becomes, at least formally and ritually, the controller of this property. The unit of the group of offerers of the sacrifice is a necessary condition for the success of the rituals that follow.

621 The same principle underlies one detail of the ritual taro display to which I
574 have not yet made reference. At the meeting 'special betelnuts' (I do not know
431 just what medicine is used on them) are distributed by the feast-giver to be
276 shared, after the meeting, between the men and their wives. The men are to ask
562 their wives whether the taro are ready. This is a ritual question, as the men go to the garden daily, but it is the women who are supposed to have charge of growing taro and – in a ritual sense – the men therefore do not know. After receiving an answer to this question, the husband will share the 'special' betelnut with his wife. While the enacting of this ritual would make even the most slow-witted of women aware of what is afoot, the women should still supposedly remain ignorant of the plan to hold a feast. Informants readily admit that this ignorance is a fiction. The significance of the shared betelnut is to provide against the anger a wife might feel when the taro harvest over which she has ritual control is

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incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikuri*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

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574 796 763 628 It is emphasised even more strongly by the curious symbolism of the ritual death of the feast-giver. Once the food is collected and heaped up on a platform in the village, a message is sent to the guests. This message takes the form (in Hohorita) of a report that X (the giver of the feast) has a big sickness, and that 'he died last night' or that he 'will die today' or 'will die tomorrow'. The message is made to sound realistic: 'a tree was cut and hit him on the head; he is nearly dead.' One informant told me that he was at first actually deceived by it.

The effect of the message is to oblige the guests to interrupt whatever they are doing and come at once, as they would in the case of a death. But it also has a clear symbolic significance in that it equates the feast-giver with the victims to be immolated at the feast. This notion is found in other Papuan cultures, e.g. the Kiwai, who told Landtman that men actually die shortly after they have given a feast (1927: Ch. XXIV). A feast, in any event, signifies the entrance to the world of death and the ancestors.

574 796 628 At a feast two totally different types of food distribution take place. Cooked vegetables and meat are handed to the guests by the women of the host group in front of their private houses, and raw vegetables and meat are hurled at the guests by the men standing on platforms in the public area of the village. The women serving the meal behave with the ordinary propriety of Papuan hostesses, whereas the men, though actually rather careful in apportioning the tied heaps of taro and the joints of pig meat in accordance with the prominence of each group and group leader, put on prankish, irresponsible, abandoned, even insulting acts, and start meat fights at which the blood runs over the bodies of the recipients.

[231] The pigs used to be slaughtered ceremonially, 'a number of pigs being set in a row and struck simultaneously' with a spear (Williams 1930:61). They are butchered on a platform, the joints being invariably the same as those into which the body of Totoima was cut up. The giver of the feast enacts a ritual for the first-born sons of each family, passing them under his legs and then allowing them to eat of the heart and innards of at least one pig which are placed, still dripping with blood, inside the feast house. It is stipulated that the pig from which these parts are taken has to be killed by a 'father or brother' of the first-born and that the organs have to be extracted by the killer. This ritual, performed in Hohorita in 1966, is a fairly precise re-enactment of Totoima's murder of his son. It emphasises the identification of the feast-givers with Totoima. Although this ritual does not directly involve the guests, it can be performed only in the presence of guests, a curious fact that is adequately explained by the theoretical argument I presented above (Section 5).

796 574 782 The evidence given in the last few pages indicates that Orokaiva pig sacrifice is a form of communion with primeval beings. Certainly the men, after a ceremonial preparation of several months, have reached a psychological state of identification with the ancestors at the moment of sacrifice. There are no professional sacrificers among the Orokaiva, but all the men involved in the feast have, by the ritual exercises preceding the feast, developed *rapport* with the [769] sacred world. Prior to sacrifice, the pigs are offered up to the clan ancestor by [614] the calling out of the clan name. The fact that they are killed (or sacrificed) at all distinguishes the feast from an ordinary economic transaction, where the pig would serve as 'payment' for some gift previously received or a service rendered.

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The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament.

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins. These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children.

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests.

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must, above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals.

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to his reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something like imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery.

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a corporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A

574 621 [789] [754] crop failure at Hohorita would be explained as resulting from sorcery inflicted upon the people collectively by a sorcerer from one of the traditionally hostile villages near which the Sangara have been forced to live since the eruption. The sickness of a Sivepe woman resident in Togahou would be ascribed to an unknown Togahou sorcerer in whom the old anger against Sivepe still rankled. It might have been almost anyone. Both these types of trouble were met by the collective catharsis of a feast, as everybody had been involved in the wars that caused the hostility.

574 628 437 572 Yet it is clear, from the evidence presented here, that a feast does not serve to set up warm and affective relationships between collectivities: the host and guest communities, as such, do not actually eat together or converse with each other closely. Strictly, they do not even sacrifice to each other. Certainly, some significant bonds are established, but these are entirely between the sets of individual partners. It is they who sacrifice, offer hospitality and make opulent gifts to each other. It is they who come to know each other in the intimacy of their homes. In some cases the host has never met his guest before the feast was planned. In other cases, host and guest are kinsmen or traditional guest-friends. A partnership which starts at a feast may be ephemeral but if the partners feel attracted towards each other, it may be perpetuated and even become a hereditary guest-friendship. Moreover, feasts may generate love affairs and may make strangers into affines.

It is in the individual friendships established in the host and guest villages that we find the best hope of future peace. Though strife between individuals is always likely to recur, it is the inter-village friendship links that may prevent this strife from spreading and becoming collective. Any explanation of Orokaiva pig sacrifice has to take account of the fact that many of the vital transactions, sacred as well as secular, are between individuals, not collectivities. The rites give a good deal of evidence for both communion and expiation, but their concrete end product is a set of dyadic relationships restored or established between individuals and their households. Certainly religious ideas enter into the transaction between the offerer and the beneficiary of the sacrifice, but these ideas serve principally to give the act of sacrifice the deep significance that is attached to the human bond: the sacrificer is possessed by his ancestor as he kills his own pig-child. This is powerful magic indeed with which to obligate the partner who receives the flesh of the victim.

7. *A Model of Pig Sacrifice*

574 628 778 While the evidence presented above is consistent with model 25,[A] that model does not account for all the facts under consideration. If we take a synchronic view of the transaction between host and guest, it is clear that both gain *ivo* from the feast. The guest gains *ivo* as he distributes the pig meat he has received to members of his family and perhaps some other members of his local group. The host gains *ivo* as the deleterious influences that previously caused disease, crop failure, etc. have been dispelled. We do not, however, obtain any explanation from the model as to why the pig sacrifice was a necessary preliminary to the obtaining of *ivo*.

A [See Category 574, p. 148—Analyst]

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The evidence presented in the previous section shows that we are in fact concerned not with one exchange cycle (i.e. model 25) but with two. The second cycle represents the exchange of sanctions which preceded the feast. Though our data with regard to both the Togahou-Sivepe and the Sangara-Koipa (Isivita) wars are rather fragmentary, we do know that there were a number of raids, the last of which are still known to informants today and date back no more than 60 years. Each side is reported to have raided the other; there were killings; there was cannibalism; women were abducted. Sangara admits having abducted Isivita women but denies that any of its own women were abducted; abductions between Sivepe and Togahou can be shown to have been mutual. The last killings were too long ago for me to be sure which side had made the last raid and which side had, in the finish, a favourable tally of killings. Sivepe and Hohorita both claimed to have come out on the winning side, but I had no opportunity to check the evidence with Togahou and Isivita. If we accept the Sivepe and Hohorita versions, both these villages were in the unpleasant position of having enemies who were still seeking revenge.

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Due to the restraints of the *pax Australiana*, this revenge could not take the form of an armed raid, but sorcery was still a possible form of retaliation, as the Australian authorities could not easily detect this. Both Sivepe and Hohorita might therefore justifiably fear sorcery from their old enemies, supposing they wanted to even the scores. There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that either Togahou or Koipa had such ideas in mind, but whenever misfortunes happened to Sivepe people in Togahou, or to gardens in Hohorita, the thought of sorcery used by old enemies seemed reasonable to the Orokaiva. We may represent the exchange of sanctions, prior to the feasts, in the following diagram:

[154]

MODEL 26

In order to account for pig sacrifice, we require both model 25 (showing the social exchange achieved by the feast) and model 26 (showing the circumstances which made Hohorita into an 'offender' and Koipa into an 'offended' party). In addition, we need to explain why the groups involved decided to adopt new objects of exchange in their social relationship. Until recently, the two sides exchanged enmity which they mediated by various penalties such as raids and sorcery. At the time of the feast, however, we find the same two parties exchanging expiation and forgiveness. It is possible to invoke a number of historical contingencies to explain this change. Informants liked to tell me that the change was due to the effect of the *iji eha*: the fact that everybody was baptised and moving into a new age when old enmities should be forgotten. I

A,B [See Category 574, p. 148--Analyst]

574 628 could not help noticing the connection between the reconciliation and the simultaneous fear of sorcery to which I have already referred. But perhaps neither historical explanation is necessary.

721 728 It seems clear from Williams' evidence and from the little I could reconstruct in 1966 that Orokaiva history had been one long sequence of hostilities and reconciliations. The reasons for the reconciliations were various: the legalising of marriages after abductions, the expediency of forming alliances with old enemies when faced with the threat of new enemies, a desire for peace after some Pyrrhic victories, and so on. On the level of myth we find the same message: the permanent state of *isoro* was interrupted by periodic feasts (see model 1). The series starts, according to myth, with a state of primordial peace. This is followed by *isoro, peka, isoro* in permanent alternation. We may represent the total pattern by the series of congruent ellipses drawn on parallel planes directly above one another (see Model 27).

I have presented transactions in historical time by a series of four transactions, the first and last of which are purely exchanges of penalties. Cycle 2 represents an agreement between two opponents to cease warfare and make peace (*peka*). This cycle would normally start with a message, sent by the original aggressor, that he is ready to make amends. This message would be followed by a visit from the other party to the aggressor, when the latter would promise to hold a feast. A customary practice at such a meeting was for the aggressor to plant a cordiline (*poponda*) in evidence of this promise. The aggressor would then arrange a pig sacrifice.

Cycle 3 would be marked by peace (*peka*). The victim of the original aggression would give a return feast which was probably obligatory. If the basic end of pig sacrifice were communion or expiation, no return feast would be necessary, but as we have found the basic end to be the establishment or restoration of social relations, on a basis of equality, there must be a balance of prestations. Each side must sacrifice pigs; each side must dance for the other; each side must dispel black magic from the gardens of the other. Each side must expiate past offences and each side must extend forgiveness. But the model shows that such reconciliation is not expected to be more than temporary although, of course, friendship between villages can sometimes be maintained for protracted periods and there is no rule against holding feasts before a quarrel has reached deadly proportions.

571 602 578 754 The model applies not only to inter-village relations but to all social relations in general, consanguineal and affinal relations included. Quarrels between consanguines differ only in their relatively greater reluctance to resort to an exchange of penalties and greater readiness to settle a quarrel before it has gone too far. But here a great deal is said to depend on the type of kin relationship holding between the quarrelling parties. A father or mother will rarely use sorcery or other harmful measures against his or her children. Certainly they will not do so until they have, in the course of the quarrel, broken off social relations by showing their plant emblem. Usually a quarrel does not go beyond the breaking off of relations, but if further unpleasantness should occur and if the person who has caused anger is experiencing some misfortune, sorcery will at once be suspected. The same is true in case of conflict with the father's or the mother's brother, though the showing of the plant emblem does not, in such

A [See Category 574, p. 58--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

Pigs

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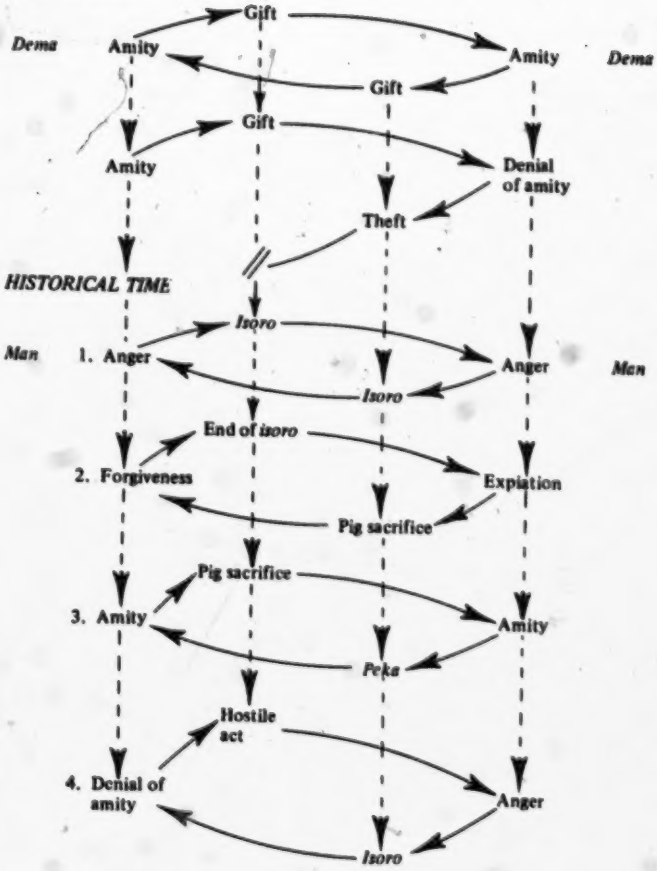
MODEL 27



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824 772 partners, while objects of mediation are not imaginary and magical, but have a real existence. I shall deal with these two aspects in turn.

3. *Coconut as an Object of Mediation*

824 Coconut has several culinary uses: it is eaten raw; soup is made of the flesh; the [252] squeezed flesh produces coconut cream in which taro and delicacies such as river [262] crabs may be cooked. Young coconuts are cut open at the top and used for a [272] refreshing drink. Coconut is reserved for two kinds of everyday food gift: [431] cooked dishes offered to guests and young coconut offered to visitors on arrival. Waddell's figures for coconut transactions are surprisingly low (less than 1 lb. per week disposed of in an average household). In Inonda, where the climate favours the coconut, there has been sporadic commercial exploitation of the nut.

[574] Coconuts are also a feasting food. At ordinary harvest feasts and bridewealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other [262] vegetables. Williams (1930: 44) reports that they used to be placed under a taboo when a large feast was pending. I have already mentioned that at mortuary [764] feasts they are the principal object of mediation between the plant emblem group of the deceased and the village which has provided services to the deceased at the time of death (See Williams 1930: 223–6). I saw a variant of this ceremony at Hohorita in 1967. The plant emblem groups of the deceased couple provided massive gifts displayed on a platform: feast taro, tins of fish, cartons of flour, corned beef in tins, sugar-cane, pots of cooked vegetable food, small bags of salt, smoked meat, a dead pig suspended from a stick, rice, bread, an abundance of betelnut and carved taro suspended from horizontal poles placed above the platform, while at least 1000 lbs. of coconuts, strung to poles supporting each other diagonally, were seen everywhere among the other gifts.

[262] Coconut is correctly believed to be a valuable adjunct to children's diet, as it [146] provides first-class protein. The belief is explained by Orokaiva in a myth quoted by Williams (1928: 122) according to which the first child ever to eat a coconut [231] grew miraculously overnight. Children do eat a good deal of it and it is also fed regularly to dogs and chickens. Orokaiva also regard the effects of coconuts on [235] dogs as miraculous. As neither dogs nor children have any other substantial supply of first-class protein, the coconut relieves a very real diet deficiency. Whatever religious significance is given to the coconut is related to this.

824 Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body, not only to enhance 778 beauty but also for its magical efficacy. In a ritual performed over a man-slayer, a coconut was broken over his head as a purificatory and 'defensive' device in [302] the sense that the fluid would drive away dangerous spirits (1930: 175). With [789] the same end in view, the bodies of female initiands and certain ornaments worn at dances are rubbed with coconut oil (1930: 207). It would appear, in view of this evidence, that the coconut is in general identified with *ivo* communicated by [881] the dead to the living. The coconuts of a dead leader are thought to contain his *ivo* in a form which is communicable, not to his kinsmen to whom these [761] coconuts are taboo, but particularly to his affines. The quoted ritual uses of the coconut are all associated with some contact with the world of death, i.e. critical situations in which the living have been in contact with death and need the help [764] of the dead to obtain *ivo*. While this *ivo* is communicated, through the mediation

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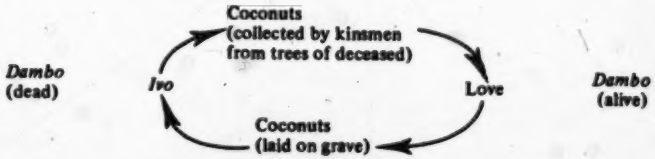
of coconut gifts, in a great variety of sometimes quite casual relationships, the most crucial communication occurs in the large-scale, highly structured mortuary feast where we may regard the archetypal exchange situation as occurring between brothers-in-law (*dambo*), one of whom is dead while the other is alive. The exchange cycle is as follows:

MODEL 28



4. Areca *as Object of Mediation*

Areca, a mildly narcotic fruit, is chewed with lime and pepper (*hingi*) when persons, often from different households, are sitting together to relax and talk. It is always offered when friendly visitors arrive from other villages. It is chewed by women as much as by men, though by Waddell's statistics men act more frequently as donors of *areca* in the exchange network (71 per cent of recorded cases). *Areca* is the only Sivepe food product of which, by Waddell's statistics, more than half the disposals are to other than village residents. Table VIII/1 summarises the number of transactions but does not show that Sivepe is an exporter of betelnut, while lime is imported. Much of this export is in barter but sales for money also occur.

When friends from the same village are sitting together betelnut is shared in much the same way as beer in our culture, i.e. people offer nuts to each other but expect to come out approximately even. At visits to another village, it is more common for the principal visitor to make a bulk donation. The hosts share out betelnut among their guests either by throwing a few nuts to each person or (on more formal occasions) by the principal host presenting the principal visitor with a large bunch, leaving the latter to share them out among his people. The visitors also hand a nut to anyone in the host group who has no nut to chew. The two principals will distribute some of the *areca* they have received to chosen persons within their own group.

Betelnut is treated as a valuable commodity. It is never given away in heaps like ordinary garden crops. Its value is undoubtedly associated with its narcotic properties. At social gatherings its main effect appears to be that it creates a relaxed and genial atmosphere, breaking down hostility otherwise likely to exist between groups. Its magical use is so widespread that its supposed effect is hard to determine from the evidence of medicines. Many medicines consist of *areca* chewed with some specific purpose, and as such it is applied in hunting magic, magic for drumming, and magic against a variety of diseases.

In ritual its role is often the same as coconut, e.g. at mortuary feasts. The exchange cycle shown in model 28 applies similarly to betelnut. Yet, just as its

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TABLE VIII/1

'ARECA' TRANSACTIONS: SIVEPE AND INONDA

The following figures group together transactions involving *areca* nuts and lime used for chewing with *areca*.

(*Source*: Waddell and Krinks, 1968: 180, 210, 218, 237, 265, 270, 272)

	Sivepe		*Inonda*	
	Acquired	*Disposed*	*Acquired*	*Disposed*
Total transactions (lbs.)	124	114	93	39
Distribution (%)				
within village	56%	44%	30%	57%
outside village	44%	56%	70%	43%
Non-monetary transactions (lbs.)	107	100	83?	38?
Monetary transactions (lbs.)	17	15	9.8	1.0
($)	3.70	3.00	2.06	0.20
Donors and recipients by sex: Men	52%	71%	42%	36%
Women	48%	29%	58%	64%

biochemical action differs from that of the coconut (narcotic rather than nutritive), so its symbolic significance in magic and ritual also differs. A girl carries a bunch of betelnut at the ceremony concluding her seclusion after first menstruation. She also has betelnut to offer to a man at lovers' meetings.

The only betelnut myth recorded by Williams (1928: 123) emphasises the nut's aphrodisiac associations. The betel palm had a liaison with a village woman. Every night it bent over her house to visit her; every morning, as the birds woke, it bent back to stand once more as an immobile palm but left around her house a litter of small flowers. When the intrigue was discovered, the jealous husband cut down the palm. The lover cried as he fell: 'Now I am a man no longer but a mere betel palm; take these nuts and eat them.' This myth resembles the one collected by myself in that the hero was a male, although the *areca* palm is classified by Orokaiva as a female plant. The explanation of this remarkable discrepancy will be one of the main tasks of the present chapter.

The symbolic significance of the betelnut is not, however, exhausted by its role as a catalyst in sexual love. One may call it, more properly, a catalyst in any kind of social exchange. As such, it helps to restore amity between former enemies. Its narcotic action raises the spirits of both opponents to the sphere of primal time when no strife existed. In sexual love, according to Orokaiva, feminine sexuality is dangerous, even lethal, to man in certain circumstances, a notion which is reflected in a number of avoidances woman must practice in order to avoid polluting and ritually killing a man. In courtship, the woman must take the initiative; the man is represented as slow and reluctant, precisely

461 regular working days. One man on vacation from regular paid employment worked both days with his wife in his subsistence garden but most relaxed in the village or visited kinsmen.

Table 4

Time patterns (6 weeks)
(Average hours per week)

	Men	Women	Both sexes
Traditional activities*			
Gardening	13.50	15.19	14.35
Hunting, fishing	1.29	1.19	1.24
Building	2.73	0.39	1.56
	17.53	16.77	17.15
Income-earning activities			
Paid work	2.60	-	1.30
Cash crops	0.79	0.31	0.55
	3.39	0.31	1.85
Non-economic activities**			
Sick	4.94	3.81	4.38
Travel	4.14	2.51	3.33
Religion	0.96	3.97	2.46
Council	0.41	1.44	0.92
	10.45	11.72	11.09
TOTAL	31.37	28.80	30.09

*Excluding domestic activities.
**For comparative purposes, we have recorded days taken up by non-productive activities, such as travel (including visiting and absence for reasons of other social obligations) as 7 hours, the standard used by Crocombe and Hogbin at Inonda (1963:62).

527 A tendency for men to regard the season as a time for renewing social contacts became more apparent in the week of the New Year. 574 Although New Year's day was not specifically observed, the men who 484 were well enough spent at least 1 day of the week visiting kin in other villages. Women too spent more time than usual away from the village but by New Year they were also resuming the routine of subsistence gardening. A general increase in movement between villages in the area appears to be usual at this time of the year. [438] Several villagers used to visit Kokoda at the New Year to trade traditional valuables with members of other tribes.

614 Although it is said that members of these clans were allies in the past and today their local branches in the one neighbourhood intermarry, their relationship to one another in regard to land is not directly determined by the recognition of the historical tie between them.[1] Plant (1951: Appendix 2) suggests that another informal link exists between clans whose founders are said to have been allies or associates.

The typical dispersed clan among the mountain Orokaiva now appears to be only a social category. Its members still acknowledge common descent from a single ancestor and have inherited the same name, but this gives them no special access to each others' land. Men have only a superficial acquaintance with the land of other branches of their clan. Nor does the clan seem to function as a group in any other sphere of activity.[2]

718 614 [574] [602] In the past the scattering of clan fragments in distant villages probably served an important function in facilitating travel, but clanship has been almost wholly replaced in this capacity because a traveller now can usually receive hospitality from various kinsmen, often closely related, who are widely dispersed, for one or another reason associated with social and economic change in the area.

614 [713] [621] We have no details concerning either the present number and size of clans among the mountain Orokaiva or the extent of their fragmentation. There is no doubt that the growth of more nucleated villages since the 1951 eruption of Mt Lamington (see Secs b. and c. of this chapter) is a significant uncontrolled variable in any inference from a situation preceding the eruption. Nevertheless, we think that a reasonable indication of the present pattern of

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1 Plant (1951:3 and Appendix 2), however, is in complete agreement with Williams (1928:126 ff.) and says that 'ownership of land is vested in the clan'; although this ownership is nominal and in practice each branch of the clan regards the land it uses as its own, people from one village agree that their clansmen elsewhere have 'every right to come and settle at their village and that land would be made available to them' and similar rights would be conceded by members of a 'parent clan' to one of its branches which has assumed a new clan name.

2 Further information now being collected at Sivepe by the New Guinea Research Unit will show whether or not this statement holds for economic activities in general; cf. these clans with the Star Mountains patriclan (J. Pouwer in Watson, ed., 1964:136) which can 'best be characterised as a name group, since the clan name passes from father to son', and 'is neither exogamous nor corporate with respect to political, social, religious or legal matters'.

Other informal transactions involving specific reciprocal obligations include the exchange of labour services, gifts of animals killed during a hunting expedition and more or less casual transactions with non-residents.

Formal exchanges operate on a larger scale than the daily or casual transactions. Crocombe (1966:71-2) has listed the main Orokaiva traditional ceremonies ('pondo' or feasts) as marking initiation, marriages, deaths, enhancement of prestige, land transfers, the re-establishment of peace after a quarrel and the lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law. The first and last of these have become very rare. In addition to the traditional ceremonies, parties may now be held to mark Christmas, Easter, the saint's day of the local church, the opening of a school or aid post, and birthdays.

A feast provides an opportunity for settling many obligations which may be quite irrelevant to the ostensible purpose and may not concern the person or group actually 'giving' the feast. It may involve one or several villages or descent groups. The feast foods are almost exclusively village-produced, although small amounts of storebought goods, particularly rice, tinned fish, bread, tea and sugar, are becoming more common. Some feasts, such as those marking the end of minor disputes between individuals, are essentially exchanges and in themselves take little time; others include much ceremonial and may last longer than twenty-four hours.[1]

Parties seldom involve reciprocal exchanges though at some large ones traditional obligations to other participants may be settled. Invitations are usually given on the basis of residence near the location of the party rather than of membership of a particular descent group. Most take place during the afternoon and evening and non-traditional dancing to guitar accompaniment may continue throughout the night. Generally, only the host's household is involved in much preparation for a private party but other men's wives will help prepare food, for which some return is expected. Often only a small number of those attending receive a share of food in the customary manner. Others may participate in the dancing at will, but, if they wish to eat or drink, must purchase food or alcohol. Behaviour at such parties is largely imitative of European practice, to the extent that at one wedding party observed the bride was presented with a quantity of old plates, dishes and cutlery by other villagers.

In addition to these exchanges with kinsmen, co-residents and neighbouring villagers, there have been long-established trade links between the inland and coastal people. This trade originally

[1] In the past they sometimes lasted several days.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

> Between friends who visit one another or who meet on a path, this may amount to little more than proferring an areca nut or piece of tobacco, much as we might offer a cigarette, but with a more definite expectation that it will be done. If the purpose of the visit is a little more serious, or if it is to be extended, the gift may be of food, and certainly a host will offer meals....

He further stresses that such small transactions may be as central to the economy as the more complex ceremonialised institutions involving reciprocal exchange. Simply because such transactions and associated activities are of a moral rather than a mechanical nature and incorporate notions of social status, they cannot properly be distinguished from strictly 'productive' enterprise.

In Sivepe time devoted to fulfilling social obligations is divided almost equally between the three categories of death (mourning), 1.1 hours, other ceremonial (feasting, farewell parties, etc.), 1.0 hours, and informal visiting, 1.2 hours per man-week.

While the pattern of visiting varies little from week to week, the more formal activities only occur irregularly. Only one death, that of a child, was recorded within the sample during the survey, but various people were involved in the deaths of four kinsmen resident elsewhere.

The duration of mourning seems to vary in relation to the physical and social distances separating the mourned from the mourners as well as according to the status of the deceased. In the case of the child's death, 90 per cent (all but four members) of the sample participated, together with a large number of clansmen from other villages and most of the third clan represented in Sivepe. The sample members mourned continuously for an average of 11 hours each, this being terminated by a church service on the mission station. In fact, all the mourning during period I fell in four weeks, an average of 5.5 hours per man-week being recorded for these weeks.

The time devoted to other ceremonial activities can be subdivided into four categories, the relative importance of which reflects the nature of social change among the inland Orokaiva. 'Parties' account for 38 per cent of the time so spent. These are normally held at the departure or return of kinsmen in paid employment or to mark 'birthdays' and are invariably characterised by the sale of plates of food and liquor and by western-style dancing to guitar groups.[1] Another 30 per cent of the time is devoted to traditional

[1] The term 'party' is in current usage in Orokaiva and other New Guinea languages. For a detailed description of one such event, see Crocombe 1966.

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the nuts to the drier. The various stages of processing took up 12.4 man-hours and 7.5 man-hours were spent in bagging and selling the 75 lbs of copra. The entrepreneur sold the copra to the Motu Native Co-operative Society at Oro Bay and by getting a lift there and back he spent only 4.4 hours on what would have been a 10-hour journey by foot. The total input of labour on the second batch of copra was 30.7 man-hours and the total return was $2.32, or under 8c per man-hour. This return disregards establishment and maintenance costs; however, as the palms used had been planted for subsistence purposes and maintenance is rare, the additional costs were negligible. They would only become significant if people planted large numbers of trees specifically for copra. This was the intention of several men. As is shown on pp.292-3, the return to labour in copra production is higher than the normal return from casual labouring and during 1965, after the survey had ended, copra was made regularly by the villagers, including the four men who had obtained work in Popondetta. Assuming that the efficiency of harvesting and processing increased with experience, it seems likely that the cash returns also increased during 1965.

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(ii) Other activities. Involvement with the external agencies takes an average of 3.2 hours per person per week. Most of this time is spent by women in cleaning the village area, defined as 'council work', which also includes a total of 42.5 hours spent by villagers in the first week paying taxes to the council. Church services occupy 0.9 hours a week; the entrepreneur holds a half-hour weekly service in the chapel and sometimes people go to larger services at Ijika church, particularly for major church festivals and confirmation ceremonies. People from the neighbouring villages of Hosou and Haheno often attend the chapel services, which are also a social occasion, with people in their best clothes and even gambling afterwards. Perhaps mainly for this reason, non-Christians occasionally attend the services as 'hearers' (in the mission terminology). Little time is spent on purchasing goods in trade stores. The most regularly used stores are the one in the village, those at Ijika and the settlement blocks (which are about one hour's walk from Inonda), and those in Popondetta - particularly Oro Ltd's store and stores owned by Chinese - about 2.75 hour's walk away. Despite the distance to Popondetta, it is frequently visited, often by getting a lift from a passing truck (or, during the survey, from the researchers). Little time was spent in meetings: 57.6 man-hours were spent on the day of polling for the House of Assembly and most of the rest was expended by the entrepreneur in discussions with administrative and agricultural personnel in Popondetta. In addition, one woman attended the Hohota Women's Club meetings during period I before the club ceased functioning.

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Social obligations involve individuals for an average of 4.2 hours per week. During 1964 in Inonda, only 0.2 hours per week (76 hours in all) were related to life crises and these were almost

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574 entirely mourning and funeral feasts. The bulk of the time is evenly divided between more or less formal social occasions and visits to kin and friends. The formal occasions include traditional feasts to mark the end of a dispute, to distribute the first fruits of a garden planted with the help of others, to mark the birth of a first child and to give or receive returns for feasts held previously. They also include non-traditional celebrations such as parties to mark birthdays, the opening of a new school and the saint's day of the local church. Such occasions usually occupy at least half a day and continue until midnight or dawn, whereas visits, as recorded here, are generally of only a few hours' duration. Visits may be made simply to see a friend or kinsman or they may be specifically to make or receive a gift, to return a borrowed article such as a gun, lamp or sago-beater or to discuss matters of common concern such as a projected feast. Visits occurred more during periods II and III but feasts and other formal occasions occupied more time during the latter part of the wet season, when they amounted to 3.1 hours per person per week compared with 0.3 hours per week in the dry and 1.9 hours per week at the beginning of the wet.

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464 Among other activities, the most frequent include seeking employment in Popondetta, journeys impeded by flooded streams or rain and meeting kin or friends returning from visits. The time devoted to them varies greatly from week to week. For instance, after the road-building work near the village ceased early in 1964, little time was spent in gambling or seeking paid work.

164 The time shown in Table 7:3 as occupied by sickness represents visits to the aid post for personal sickness, care of the sick and attendance at the fortnightly infant welfare clinic.[1] As noted, the incidence of sickness tends to be greater during wet weather when malaria and epidemics of influenza may occur.[2]

512 Individuals devote a total of 10.5 hours per week to non-productive activities. However, the distinction between these and the productive activities is not clear cut. For instance, part of the labour input in gardening may be designed to ensure a surplus of certain foodstuffs to meet specific social obligations. Similarly, visits to a kinsman may be undertaken in order to organise production and other aspects of a future feast, to assist in time of need or to make or receive a gift of food.

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[1] In addition to this time, individuals were inactive through sickness for an average of half a day a week (see Tables 7:1 and 7:2).

[2] During 1964 there were two influenza epidemics, in April and December.

181 In his discussion of Orokaiva morality, Williams (1930:322) states that 'The group...contents itself with two main requirements - (i) material plenty, and (ii) internal concord. ...each virtue implies agent and reagent'. Three 'moral factors' are identified as working positively towards the achievement of this ideal: industry (the manifestations of which have been treated in Part II), liberality and helpfulness. A concern for mutual aid operates among members of the 'sympathy group' and is therefore only effective over a socially and geographically restricted area. Being an acephalous society, it is based on a reciprocal system whereby a prestation voluntarily made carries with it certain obligations and expectations.

431 In traditional Orokaiva society several types of prestations were identified, according to the scale, circumstance and nature of the obligation incurred, and many of them are still practised, albeit often in an attenuated form. The most common is termed 437 oaisa - the informal daily distribution of small quantities of cooked food within the village. No account is kept of the volume involved but equal participation by all households is expected, the only exceptions being the aged and the single men, with the latter being called upon to reciprocate with a labour service from time to time. Such distributions are primarily the women's responsibility. However the casual gifts of areca and lime, made by the men, fall within the same category.

796 The term hande, freely translated as 'generous', is applied more specifically to ceremonial distributions and feasts organised by 574 the men.[1] They are normally characterised by the participation of 431 agnates and affines from other villages and by the strict attention paid to the apportionment of gifts according to considerations of kinship, status and specific obligations being acknowledged.

626 Visoare are challenge feasts of an avowedly competitive and [578] hostile nature made in connection with unresolved disputes such as [574] encroachment on land, or the stealing and unauthorised killing of [614] pigs. They generally occur at the inter-, but neighbouring, clan level and incorporate the powerful sanction of shame for the individual or group challenged. The procedure is for the party levelling the initial accusation to hold a feast, invite the other, make a gift of food to them, and then challenge them publicly to reciprocate with a feast of equivalent scale. A failure to match it can only result in humiliation.

431 The type of gift made as a gesture of friendship or appreciation, 572 but not normally reciprocated, is known as umbare. Such gifts are 574

[1] See p.26 for a description of the circumstances under which feasts are arranged.

A,[See Category 574, p.26--Analyst]

431 572 574 only made with people from distant villages, who may or may not be kinsmen, and they always involve a visit to the party making the gift. This may be followed by a return visit at a later date but there is no necessary sequence or routine. Gifts made to relatives coming from a considerable distance to attend a mourning and those received as the specific motive for a visit (as in the case of Orokaiva going to the Managalase to receive di (feathers)) are both categorised as umbare.

121 Such exchanges and transfers of goods can be seen to operate within clearly-defined social contexts. Sahlins (1965:139) notes that 'A material transaction is usually a momentary episode in a continuous social relation'. He continues,

> A specific social relation may constrain a given movement of goods, but a specific transaction - 'by the same token' - suggests a particular social relation. If friends make gifts, gifts make friends. A great proportion of primitive exchange, much more than our own traffic, has as its decisive function this latter, instrumental one: the material flow underwrites or initiates social relations. Thus do primitive peoples transcend Hobbesian chaos. For the indicative condition of primitive society is the absence of a public and sovereign power: persons and (especially) groups confront each other not merely as distinct interests but with the possible inclination and certain rights to physically prosecute these interests. Force is decentralised, legitimately held in severalty, the social compact has yet to be drawn, the state nonexistent. So peacemaking is not a sporadic intersocietal event, it is a continuous process within the society itself....
>
> Even on its strictly practical side, exchange in primitive communities has not the same role as the economic flow in modern industrial communities. The place of transaction in the total economy is different: under primitive conditions it is more detached from production, less firmly hinged to production in an organic way. Typically, it is less involved than modern exchange in the acquisition of means of production, more involved with the redistribution of finished goods through the community. The bias is that of an economy in which food holds a commanding position.... It is the bias also of a domestic mode of production.... It is the bias of a social order in which rights to control returns go along with rights to use resources of production, and in which there is very limited traffic in titles or income privileges in resources. It is the bias, finally, of societies ordered in the main by kinship. (Sahlins 1965:139-41)

Individual exchanges are not, therefore, spasmodic acts. Together they form a system founded on the network of social relations. This

of each in the food pattern, the proportion of total production of goods entering into the distributive system varies considerably, being related to both its degree of scarcity and the circumstances of the exchange.

Taro, being the staple food, is normally readily available to all households from their own resources and it is estimated that only about 4 per cent of total production enters into distribution.[1] Of this figure over half (56 per cent) circulates within the village, usually in the form of individual plates of cooked food distributed after the evening meal is prepared. These evening distributions are initiated by the first to prepare their meals, and offered to those returning later to help allay hunger until their own food is ready. While the principle of reciprocation applies on such occasions individual exchanges are not accounted for. This applies equally to areca, lime and pepper which are casually distributed at gatherings.

Of foods which are resorted to in the dry season, particularly sago and breadfruit, a much higher proportion of total production enters into circulation. Well over half the sago produced is distributed, specifically to compensate for assistance rendered in its working, but more generally in recognition of the general scarcity of food and of an obligation among those endowed to share their stocks with the less fortunate. Even in such instances, however, the manner in which it is distributed stresses particular relationships.

Custom requires that an individual should not eat the meat of a pig which he has reared himself or of wild game which he has caught. Consequently virtually all meat 'produced' enters into the exchange network, the only observed exception occurring when a pig breaks into a garden and the owner endeavours to kill it himself. Even in

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[1] This figure was determined by using yield data gathered in Sivepe during 1961-62 by the FAO Survey of Indigenous Agriculture. It was estimated that 159 persons produced 298.1 tons of taro in one year from 51.4 acres. Assuming the acreages to be constant the FAO survey estimates an individual requirement to be 0.34 acres per annum and Rimoldi (1966:20) estimates 0.36 acres - a yield of 5.5 tons per acre is obtained. (This includes area under other crops, but taro accounts for 80 to 90 per cent of the total acreage and it is assumed this proportion is constant.) Thus one individual produces 1.87 tons from 0.34 acres.

Using the ratio 70:36 of adult to individual acreage (Rimoldi 1966:19) an adult produces 3.63 tons from 0.66 acres. The present survey covered 4,741 adult-days (man-days) or 12.9 adult years. A yield of 46.8 tons was therefore obtained. During the same period 1.9 tons of taro - 4.1 per cent of total production - was disposed.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 187]

such cases much of the meat is distributed. However, if an individual wishes to organise a pig-feast he normally arranges an initial exchange of pigs with another person (frequently with one to whom he had previously given a piglet to look after until it matured), only killing and preparing the pig so received. Similarly, when a number of people are hunting together, whoever catches anything will immediately make a gift of it to another member of the party.

A small proportion of all transactions comprises goods given in charity to the old and infirm, one item falling specifically in this category being firewood. In such cases no return is expected.

(ii) Labour services. Of the sample's activity time, 3.9 per cent was directed to rendering labour services, almost all of which were on a non-monetary basis. As with subsistence produce an overall balance is registered but, since assistance is frequently reciprocated in the form of gifts of food, this fact conceals substantial internal variations within the sample. Of labour services acquired, 55 per cent were directed to two men: Umbahapa, the oldest person and a widower living alone, and Linton, the most active and highly regarded of the men,[1] while eleven individuals received no assistance whatsoever. By contrast all but one individual gave some assistance to a member of another household and no one person accounted for more than 12 per cent of all assistance rendered.

Similarly, as demonstrated by data on the composition of work groups,[2] the range of activities over which labour services are exchanged is very restricted. Eighty-eight per cent fall within the subsistence sector and of these over half occur in construction and sago-making. Among cash cropping activities assistance is commonly provided only in the pulping and washing of coffee (see Fig.10:1). Such services are therefore largely confined to activities where, firstly, the labour resources of the nuclear family are normally inadequate for their effective completion, as, for example, construction and sago-making and, secondly, immediate compensation is expected, as, again, in sago-making, in harvesting yams, helping with the exchanging and butchering of pigs, and hunting.

(iii) Storebought goods. While products of the external sector circulate through the gift exchange system, acquisitions predominate and comprise 88 per cent of the total volume transacted. Goods received from the researchers apart, most derive from relatives currently residing outside the subsistence village context - either as settlers at Sangara or in wage employment. The data incorporate

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[1] For a detailed account of the activities of these two men, see pp.117-21, 126-7.

[2] See pp.114-17.

A, [See Category 554, pp. 117-119; Category 461, pp. 120-121; Category 512, pp. 126-127--Analyst]
B, [See Category 461, pp. 114-117--Analyst]

438 daily exchanges of products between villagers when they have a temporary surplus, rather than a continuing specialisation. Al-
[433] though some individuals do tend to concentrate more time than others on certain crops - as the widower in Inonda does with yams[1] -
[574] surpluses (and their counterpart, shortages) are frequently the result as much of chance as of policy. Thus, near the end of the
[431] dry season a settler held a feast at short notice to mark the end of a dispute with an Inonda man. The Inonda people decided not to make a return presentation at the same time since they had only sago available and would be humiliated if they offered this in return for the others' taro. In the event, contributions by people from the settlement blocks and other villages included more banana and sweet potato than taro.

The circulation operates at several different levels: the level of the village itself, that of a context which is more or less restricted to the occurrence of close kin and which, except perhaps for some affines, is only about three miles in radius, and finally the broader district level, which embraces greater environmental differences and is the sphere of operation of the comparatively
[436] long-distance hawkers from both the coastal and mountain areas. At
[178] this level, the volume of exchange is small; it is not necessarily based on kinship or even friendship ties and it is now almost entirely monetised.

437 (ii) Labour services. Labour assistance in the subsistence
221 sector shows a pronounced seasonality (see Table 11:6). This is largely due to the fact that 46 per cent of all the assistance received in the subsistence sector during the survey was in sago-making and all of this occurred during three weeks in the dry season.

Table 11:6

Inonda: mean weekly transactions of labour services during each recording period
(hours)

Labour services		Period I	Period II	Period III
Cash sector	Acquisition	1.9	4.0	1.5
	Disposal	2.5	1.6	2.6
Subsistence sector	A	8.3	67.6	10.5
	D	11.5	38.8	4.7
Total	A	10.2	71.6	12.0
	D	14.0	40.4	7.3

[1] Cf. pp.166-7. A
A,[See Category 512, pp. 166-167--Analyst]

many of whom moved their place of residence some three to five miles inland from the coastal villages along the Gona-Popondetta road during 1963-4, bringing them nearer to the larger Popondetta stores (see preceding article in this bulletin).

The rate of spending was remarkably constant throughout 1962 (the only year checked) except in December when 16 per cent of annual turnover was handled. Other months accounted for 6 per cent to 9 per cent of the annual turnover. The high figure for December was partly due to a shareholders' rebate being distributed on 12 December. Much of the money given in rebates was seen by the author to be immediately spent again in the store. Also, many men who worked outside the village returned for holidays at Christmas time with appreciable sums of money. Finally, the European custom of holding Christmas parties had been adopted by the Yega, resulting in increased spending on food.

The Yega were still predominantly subsistence cultivators with very limited financial resources. The co-operative store served a useful purpose in providing them with easily preservable proteins as well as a range of other foods, clothing, consumer goods, tools and domestic equipment.

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[504] In pre-European times, according to present-day informants, the most important feasts held by the Orokaiva people were associated with initiation, marriage, death (though apparently not birth), and the enhancement of prestige. Feasts were also held to mark the transfer of land, the re-establishment of peace between persons who had been quarrelling, resumption of residence after a prolonged absence, and the lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law.

[504 108] It is impossible to know with any certainty the scale of feasting prior to European contact for, though a detailed study of these people was made in the late 1920s (Williams 1928 and 1930). Government patrols had brought tribal fighting to a halt some years before. It is therefore quite likely that, with less time taken up in warfare and greater freedom of movement assured, the feasts and ceremonies of that day were more elaborate than those of the pre-contact era.

While feasts are still held today, the relative emphasis given to each category has changed considerably. Feasts associated with initiation are held on a greatly reduced scale and often omitted altogether, but those relating to marriage and death remain important. The taro festivals, the main function of which appears to have been the enhancement of prestige, are still held in some [606] places but have been abandoned in others. The other feasts listed above are still held occasionally, with the exception of those relating to the lifting of prohibitions in relation to mothers-in-law.[1]

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[1] Since the above was written, such a feast was held by a family from this village but now living on a government resettlement [541] scheme about two miles away. The atypical circumstances of the new residence pattern may have caused the revival of the feast (known as peikari) because when the daughter of the settler married, the new husband was brought to live with them to help with cash cropping. This is contrary to the customary pattern of virilocal residence. Living in such close contact with his mother-in-law probably made the highly formalized relations between them difficult to maintain. The feast was thus invoked to sanction more relaxed relations between them.

On the other hand, some feasts held today have no precise traditional equivalent. These include those associated with festivals of the local church; those to farewell or welcome home children attending distant schools, migrant workers and others; those to mark the opening of new churches, schools and medical aid posts; and finally and most recently, feasts or 'parties' to celebrate the birthdays of favoured children. 574 178

A birthday feast held in Inonda village in July 1962 illustrates changes taking place in some of the social and economic values of the community, and persistence in others. The celebration was held to mark the birthdays of the two adopted children (actually the illegitimate issue of two daughters) of a prominent local citizen, a retired mission teacher. It was the first such party held in this village, though similar parties had been held in neighbouring villages. Several villagers mentioned that they intended holding birthday parties for their first-born children. The idea was introduced by indigenous mission teachers who have attended birthday parties held by their European counterparts. 574 561 [177]

Few Orokaiva people are aware of the birth dates of their children and those few who are derive some satisfaction from the fact. In this instance, the children whose birthdays were being celebrated were a boy aged nine and a girl aged one. The party was said to be for both children, though 'mainly for the boy'. Their actual birthdays were said to have been 18 and 22 June respectively, but the feast was not held until the following Saturday as several of the villagers and many of those invited from outside the village work during the week as labourers for the Public Works Department, for a local engineering contractor and for local European planters. Almost all feasts and ceremonies conducted in this village today are held on Saturdays.

The host (the adopted father of the children) is not engaged in paid work and he and his wife, assisted by their three married daughters, spent the two preceding days gathering food from the gardens. Two of the daughters live in the same village as their father and the other in a village about six miles away. As all the host's male relatives in this village were employed at the time, he sent for his brother's grandson, a single man in a village about fifteen miles away, to come and assist. A small platform and a leaf shelter were built outside the host's house: the former to serve food on and the latter as shade for the visitors. 574 [343]

Taro was the main food provided, and of an estimated total contribution of 383 pounds, 128 pounds were brought by the host and his wife, 105 pounds by their three married daughters, 70 pounds by two clanswomen of the host's wife, and 80 pounds by three clanswomen of the host's eldest daughter's husband. 574 431 602

574 The two latter contributions require further explanation. Of
431 the 70 pounds brought by the wife's kin, 40 pounds were given by
602 a parallel cousin whose husband recognized a distant relationship to the host, and who had worked as a mission teacher with him. The remaining 30 pounds were given by a clanswoman (whose exact relationship we did not determine) who lives in a village a few minutes' walk away, and who frequently visits the host's wife. This woman's husband recognizes a distant relationship to the host. Of that given by the daughter's husband's relatives, 60 pounds were contributed by a mother and daughter whose husband and father had spent his life as a work associate of the host in a neighbouring village. The remaining 20 pounds were brought by a clanswoman whose kinship link was reinforced by her residence in Inonda and her marriage to another relative of the host.

With the exception of taro supplied by the host and his wife jointly, all taro was brought by females. They were all kin of either the host, his wife or his eldest daughter's husband. But of the many relatives of these people resident in the vicinity, only five contributed. Three of these had work associations with the host and the other two had subsidiary kinship links to the wife as well as being coresident or nearly so, and enjoying frequent social interaction with the host and his wife.[1]

574 In former times, we were told, the men now engaged in paid work
198 would have gone hunting to obtain meat for a feast, and would have constructed more elaborate shelters and platforms as well as erecting poles for the stacking of food contributions in such a way that they could be measured and compared. The role of the men in the preparation of this feast was negligible by comparison.

574 The host intended to kill a domestic pig for the feast but it
431 escaped after being shot. A European contractor whose labourers had been invited to attend gave a pig which he had purchased for $30. The only other fresh meat was a large hornbill donated by the leader of the clan with which the eldest daughter's husband lived.[2] These two men have engaged in many exchanges over the past few years.

574 Of a total of $9.83 worth of store foods supplied, $2.60 worth were purchased by the host himself from his savings, $7.08 worth

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[1] In addition to the above food, the husband of a daughter of the host used the occasion to give a pig and vegetables to one of his wife's mother's clansmen who had not shared in the bride-wealth previously given by the husband for his wife. The gift was taken back to the donee clansman's village for distribution.

[2] This man does not live with his own clan, but with that of his classificatory brother's wife.

by the eldest daughter's husband from his current earnings, and $0.20 worth by the husband of another of the host's daughters from his current earnings. The only other foods contributed were three bunches of bananas and sixteen lengths of sugar cane by the host and four bunches of betel nut and one bundle of betel pepper by the eldest daughter's husband and his son.

It is apparent that the men's traditional role of supplying fresh meat is being replaced by an obligation to supply store foods. In addition, informants confirmed that the range of men participating in the contributions had decreased markedly. The reason for the large donation of store foods and betel nut by the eldest daughter's husband was that as his family had all been killed and his property destroyed in the Mt Lamington eruption, he had not paid any bride-wealth at the time of his marriage.

A blackboard was displayed bearing a notice to the effect that all persons who were in receipt of wages were expected to contribute fifty cents and all others twenty cents. The host sat at the end of the food table and collected the cash (while a research assistant recorded the details of contributions and contributors). While most visitors expected as a matter of course to make some offering, they were not prepared for a fixed fee. There was therefore some delay and it was not until it was announced that those who did not have the full amount could contribute whatever they had that the people could be persuaded to make their contributions and partake of the food. Over half of those present had no money and consequently refrained from eating, though some close relatives who did not contribute were fed in the background. Several visitors privately expressed resentment at being asked for a money contribution.[1]

Contributions were received from 64 persons and ranged from eight cents to a dollar. Of a total of $12.15 received we were able to account for $10.88. Those who had brought food did not bring money with the exception of the labourers from the contractor's camp on whose behalf their employer had contributed a pig, and the husband of one of the host's daughters (who had given twenty cents worth of food) who gave ten cents in cash. Over half the money ($5.78) came from 31 persons who had no kinship ties with this village but were employees of European planters and of a contractor in the area or were indigenous settlers from a government resettlement scheme nearby. Of the balance, $2.10 was given by 15 relatives of the host from three different villages and

[1] The labourers and settlers had been specifically invited to attend, but I am not aware of the extent of invitations sent to other villages.

£2.90 by 16 relatives of the host's eldest daughter's husband (the one who had not been able to pay bride-wealth at the time of his marriage).[1] The latter 16 relatives came from four different villages. All but one of the total of 64 contributors of cash came from villages other than Inonda.

Contributors came from eight different localities within a range of 16 miles. There were also approximately 70 other adults who attended but did not eat or contribute. Some were from this village but the majority came from other villages in the vicinity. There were also some 30 or so children present who were not included above.

The majority of the persons present attended because of their residence in neighbouring communities and claimed no kinship links with the hosts. In earlier times, informants say, it would have been unusual for persons to attend a feast unless they were linked to the hosts by ties of kinship, marriage, or residence in the same village. Moreover, they claim, even in pre-war days it was unusual for persons from so far afield to attend a relatively small personal feast. Cash payment, it appears, is becoming an acceptable substitute for kinship links as a qualification to attend certain ceremonies.

Transfers of property at this feast differed markedly from those in feasts of the traditional type. Firstly, the food was contributed by a more restricted group, and was consumed not by all, but only by those who paid. Secondly, cash was given in place of traditional valuables (feather head-dresses, shells, arm-bands, necklaces, etc.); and thirdly, there was no reciprocal exchange for the whole of the cash was retained by the host who apparently does not acknowledge any obligation to give reciprocal help to those who brought cash, though he does recognize such an obligation to those who brought food.

In this village many of the older people wear only loin cloths made of tapa, but at the feast all but four men wore imported clothing. The four who did not were older men who remained in the shadows. A few men wore cotton lap-laps, but the majority wore short trousers. All but three wore shirts - an item of clothing that is rarely seen in the village. Quite a number wore plastic sandals, though the majority were barefooted. All the women wore cotton skirts and blouses, though in their daily work an in festivals of the traditional type they almost never wear any garment above the waist. Four young men were daubed with face powder and one wore a spring of leaves in his hair. There were no other personal adornments. At taro festivals today, and at marriages, funerals and

[1] See p.74.

other rites which are still based largely on traditional precedents, tapa cloths, arm-bands, necklaces and head-dresses are de rigeur, but informants stated that a birthday party was different, as it was a European institution.

The language most frequently used was Pidgin as most of the labourers came from various parts of New Guinea, but the local people spoke between themselves in Orokaiva. Police Motu, the official lingua franca of Papua, was heard quite frequently and the notice about donations was written in that language. While the non-Orokaiva people conversed freely in lingue franche, the less prominent of the Orokaiva people kept largely to themselves.

The only indigenous musical instrument present was a single drum, but it was not played. When asked why there were not more drums, those present expressed mild contempt for them and explained that there would be guitars. All the music, which continued almost nonstop from dusk on Saturday until daylight Sunday, was provided by six or eight guitars owned and played by the indentured labourers present. There were no skilled guitarists, and the band merely strummed a basic rhythm which changed little during the course of the evening. The repertoire of songs was not extensive and most were repeated many times. All of them were either popular Western or modern Polynesian tunes, some sung to Pidgin words, other to English words and a few to Orokaiva words.

Most of the young men danced, some of them almost constantly, but very few knew any pattern of steps. The majority were attempting to dance modern style Polynesian dancing which had been learned indirectly from the Samoan, Cook Island and Tongan missionaries who served along the south coast of Papua (though not in the Orokaiva area). The one man who could perform a particular Samoan men's dance quite well had learned it directly from a Samoan missionary several years ago. Some individuals tried to dance traditional Orokaiva steps but were not particularly successful owing to the foreign nature of the music. Several men from New Guinea attempted ballroom dancing which they had seen performed by Europeans in New Guinea, and in films.

Of a total of approximately 130 adults present, only about 20 were women. While the discrepancy was partly accounted for by the number of male contract labourers, most of the relatives of the hosts who attended were also men. Few of the settlers or other visitors brought their wives (unless the latter had relatives at Inonda). The cooking was done by a group of five women, while the others remained in the shadows.

The music and entertainment were almost exclusively the prerogative of the men. No woman joined the band of guitarists and singers at any time, and none attempted to dance until about 10 p.m.

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Men dancing at the feast

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595 when three young single women joined in, though each danced separately and without appearing to take any notice of the men or to be noticed by them. Only three mixed couples were seen dancing during the whole evening, the partners in each case being real or classificatory siblings. They danced ballroom style, which the girls had seen when away at work as nurses and domestics. On some occasions two men danced together, but for the most part each man danced individually, following his own style and apparently oblivious to those around him. Traditionally, married women do not dance, though single women dance in supporting roles.

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177 It was clear that while music and dancing were based largely on a very limited conception of Polynesian patterns, dress and other behaviour was based on European models - even to the extent of several of the most prominent citizens handing out Rothman's king size filter cigarettes! Though traditional prohibitions (such as those against married women dancing) prevailed, there seemed to be a conscious effort not to behave as an Orokaiva, and some of the local people who did not participate explained that it was because they did not know how to dance in the modern style. Over all the men engaged in nontraditional activity much more than the women did.

574 Shortly after daybreak a church service was held, breakfast was served, and the party was over. The remains of the food was distributed to those relatives who had contributed most food and

those visitors who had given most cash. In former times, they said, feasts usually continued for two to five days, but today there is a tendency, particularly in areas where paid work is available, to get them over in a single night or week-end.

While the rationale for the party was the birthday of the two children, they were in fact conspicuous by their absence from any aspect of the celebrations, feasting or exchange. The changing modes of dancing, dress, entertainment and economic exchange showed a constant striving to acquire foreign behaviour patterns. The feast did serve to confirm the adoption of the children (which had not previously been formalised) and to affirm the bona fides of the son-in-law who had been unable to meet his bride-wealth obligations. But it appeared to me that the main motive of the promoter (a retired mission teacher whose prestige was considerable, but waning in his retirement, and whose status was marginal in a patrivirilocal society in which circumstances forced him to live in the village of two of his daughters' husbands) was to reaffirm his prestige and reinforce his stake in the village of his residence.

Bibliography

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134 (v) The Avalanche Association consists of riverine deposits of gravel and boulders interbedded with sheets of sand, lying on [191] the floor of the Girua river. It occupies a very small proportion of the Inonda lands, supports a kunai vegetation, and appears to have no potential for either agriculture or forestry.

192 Climate: The climate is hot and moist, except for a hot, relatively dry season which lasts from about July to September. Because of the influence of the Owen Stanley Ranges there is a rapid west-east decline in rainfall over the Orokaiva area. Popondetta has an average annual rainfall of 96 inches so that Inonda, lying 5 miles to the east, probably has a rainfall of 80 to 90 inches. The yearly pattern of rainfall distribution, which is very similar for both Inonda and Popondetta, can be seen from the rainfall recordings for Popondetta given in Appendix C[A](1)

805 The Inonda people refer to the dry season as huvira
824 because the huvira tree (Erythrina indica) flowers at that time. The wet season is divided into a number of periods which are recognized by the ripening of various nuts (especially hauga) and edible pit-pit (ina), and by the flowering of the garepa tree. For instance, the garepa season begins about November or December and lasts for two or three months. These are the wettest months of the year and plant growth is therefore rapid at that time. The pasiro (a variety of pit-pit) ripens about [504] March, which is a time of more moderate rainfall. Food is in abundance at this period, and it is accordingly the most popular season for feasting.

132 The warm moist climate is generally favourable for
241 plant growth, but because many of the soils are coarse in texture and have low water-holding capacity, even short periods of drought may adversely affect the growth of shallow rooting crops (including the staple food, taro). Deep rooting crops such as coffee, cocoa and coconuts are less affected by the dry periods.

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(1) This average was computed from recordings taken over the 7 year period 1955-61.

A [See Category 132, p. 100--Analyst]

241 about one and a half miles (thirty-five minutes walk) from the village on part of the land known as Inota. They are planted contiguously: partly to keep the amount of clearing and pig fencing to a minimum and partly to ensure companionship while working in the garden (which may be related to the traditional but now unnecessary consideration of mutual protection). Because of this practice and for other reasons enumerated below many people have made their gardens on land in which their lineage has no proprietary rights. Each household has at least one garden which is currently producing and one recently planted but not yet in bearing on the Inota block. Three of the households have gardens (or are in the process of making gardens) on other Inonda lands (Eumo and Sesehauta) while three other households have made or are making gardens on land at Hohota village. Two of the latter are new gardens and they are situated about one mile from Inonda and the other, which is currently producing, lies west of Hohota village about 4½ miles from Inonda. Two other gardens made by Inonda people on Hohota lands in 1960 have now been abandoned.

[621] The people say that in earlier times they made special feast gardens to provide food for taro festivals, death feasts and other occasions. Feast gardens were often cleared on a community basis by all the working members of either the village or a sub-clan within it, but were then subdivided and a section was allotted to each of the households for cultivation.
[574] The Administration has discouraged large scale taro festivals and none has been held for several years. However when a man from the village died during the survey, the members of his family decided to make a feast garden on a piece of ground which he had cleared just before his death.

[574] We were shown two feast gardens, one made in 1953, and the other in 1960. The precise boundaries of the one made in 1953 are no longer recognizable, but the garden was apparently a very large one of five acres or more. It was made to provide food for a feast held when refugees (from the Mt. Lamington disaster) from Sewa and Ajoro villages left Inonda to return home. The other feast garden, which is now abandoned, was made at Hohota by a man who has no hereditary rights in land at Inonda. He has three married daughters, two of them married

cleared the virgin forest, any of their number could return and take up residence on the site of their previous village and again use their abandoned gardens (which are now covered with second growth). The area is too far distant to be planted while living at Inonda. On the other hand they recognize the residual rights of the Tandai'undi to the garden land, and the exclusive rights of the Tandai'undi to hunt in the bush and fish in the river. It is apparent that some rights in the area are retained by each party, but it is probable that the Inonda people could not in fact resume residence there without further negotiations with the Tandai'undi.

About twenty years ago a man of the neighbouring village of Urio who had no sons of his own (nor any brothers with sons) gave a large block of land named Sesehauta, which lies adjacent to Inonda, to his sister's sons - the members of the Jego'undi sub-clan of Inonda. In an attempt to avoid future dispute he held a feast to mark the transfer. At the feast, the Jego'undi gave pigs, taro and traditional valuables to their mother's brother and these were distributed among his clansmen. About two years ago the people of Mosou came, at the suggestion of Native Affairs officers and with the approval of the Jego'undi, and established their village on this land. They did not make any payment, nor do they propose doing so, though they do make occasional informal gifts of betel nut and sago to the Jego'undi. Although most Mosou people still plant on their own lands a mile or two away, several of them plant on the Jego'undi land. The Mosou people do not hunt on this area as they have ample other hunting land, but the Andiriha of Inonda sometimes do. This is another case of land rights being shared by several clans and sub-clans - the donors who retain residual rights, the donees who hold some current use rights, the Mosou people to whom some rights of residence and land use have been delegated, and the Andiriha of Inonda with whom the Jego'undi sometimes share hunting rights and who consider that, as the dominant sub-clan, they should be consulted on questions of disposal or transfer of rights to the land. Neither of the two adult members of the Jego'undi in Inonda have sons, though one has daughters. The future rights to the Sesehauta land will presumably remain in the balance for some time.

things from any area of second growth it appeared from our observations that people seldom took wood from second growth land other than areas which they themselves had previously planted. Permissive members of the sub-clans exercise the same hunting and foraging rights as primary members.

Contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans (or their husbands in the case of women), are entitled to hunt on Inonda lands, though they are expected to notify the villagers before doing so. Contingent members of the sub-clans do not in fact come to forage. During our stay one contingent member of the Andiriha sub-clan and the husband of another came to hunt on several occasions. Both live in villages within two hours walk of Inonda. It is said that those from further away rarely come, and then only to acquire meat for an important feast.

On rare occasions, when they have inadequate meat for a forthcoming feast which involves the whole clan, clansmen from other villages come to Inonda and make a formal request for permission to hunt there. They remain for several days and hunt with the help of the local people, smoke the meat and then return home. The Inonda people are then invited to partake of the feast in the village which is holding the celebration, and will be given gifts of garden produce on their departure.

Only three Inonda men exercise hunting rights outside Inonda land. The first two are the members of the Jego'undi sub-clan. They were given hunting rights to a piece of land which abuts the Inonda land to the south-east by their mother's brother shortly before his death. He lived in the adjacent village of Urio and had no children of his own. The other Inonda man with hunting rights outside the lands of the sub-clans is the councillor. He is the eldest surviving child of the previous sub-clan leader, and it also may be significant that he has attained a higher standard of education then any other member of the sub-clan. He was given hunting rights to a portion of land which abuts the Inonda lands to the south-west, by his mother's father who was also the man who gave him his name. The donor was an elder of the Tandai'undi clan of Ajoro village and made the

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Community leadership

Three of the four entrepreneurs are eldest sons and two of them are heads of sub-clans. The third expects to be when the present holder, his father's younger brother, dies. All four have or had elective status in the community, in religious, political or economic institutions. Three of the four are or have been church councillors,[1] two have been local government councillors,[2] and three directors of the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Co-operative. The extensive time these men give to community leadership (an average of 7.6 hours weekly) contrasts strongly with that of Inonda and Sivepe villagers (0.5 hours).

While the others seem to have been willing to accept leadership roles among villagers, D has declined nomination as a councillor and several other roles and has less contact with village society. This is perhaps due to his being a stranger to this area.

A, B and C claim to have gone to considerable trouble to encourage the people of surrounding villages to engage in cash-cropping. In B's case at least there is clear evidence that this is so. Apart from active encouragement, their enterprises could be expected to have had significant demonstration effects. The fact that villages adjacent to those of the two longest established entrepreneurs, A and B, have a higher number of trees per man than other villages in the census division supports this suggestion.

Demonstration effects, however, appear to be less in the entrepreneur's own village, where he is in all cases envied and resented by many. My impression from living among the Orokaiva is that the prestige of the entrepreneurs increases as one gets further away in a radius of five miles or so (perhaps ten in the case of B) and decreases again thereafter. A and B in particular often accommodate strangers on long journeys on foot, and B has for many years had a special house which is available to any foot traveller. Distant villagers, returning labourers, children going to and from boarding school and others from up to fifty miles away stay overnight at B's house. No charge is made, no gift expected or usually given. In fact B, who is widely acclaimed for his hospitality to strangers, usually supplies them with vegetable foods.

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[1] Elected annually, usually one per village. A retired in favour of his eldest son and B retired when the refugees from the Mount Lamington villages (who had elected him) left their temporary settlement near B's coffee plot. He was asked by the village to be their church councillor but declined as he lived outside the village and the role of councillor ideally requires constant attendance in the village.

[2] Elected triennially. Each represents several villages. A retired owing to age. B was defeated.

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

write Y1/Y2 as men/women. De Coppet deals with the relations: murderer's clan/victim's clan and wife giver/wife taker. Schwimmer (1973) adds: land giver/land taker; human partner/spirit partner. In all these cases the equivalence rules give values for X1, X2.

The second type of constitutive rules specific to ritual prestations are 'translation rules', i.e. rules about the translation of sentiments into prestations and about inferring sentiments from prestations received. These rules are elicited by asking informants *why* gifts were made. (In Orokaiva, the nearest equivalent of *why*? is *do eto*?, meaning: what having been done, what having been?) I found that (except for identical return gifts), such questions were usually answered in terms of sentiments felt or professed by the donor towards the recipient. Bridewealth was always explained as a way of appeasing the wife-givers' anger at the taking away of their daughter. This anger is not just in the wife-taker's mind but is expressed by the wife-givers by certain stock actions and phrases (as in any joking relation) behind which there are individual variations in genuine attachment to the daughter, genuine aversion to the affines and shrewd calculation. To give another example, many feasts are made in order to restore amity between groups, in which case the small preliminary gift of betel nut and food accompanying the invitation (*sope ikari*, Schwimmer 1973: 151) would stand for an offer of amity (translation rule) and acceptance of the invitation would signify the prospective guests' willingness to forget past grudges.

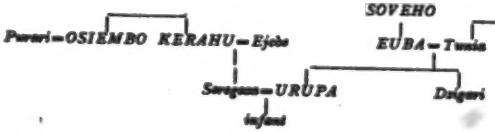
Semantically, gifts encode sentiments in many ways: by what is given, how much, of what quality, in what manner, where, when, in the context of what relationship and so on.[2] The recipient decodes: he reads the donor's sentiments in the prestation—the only language that, in the cultures discussed here, does not lie. Words are not to be trusted: but a gift is sacred like a statement under oath. Sentiments do not, of course, objectively explain gifts but the translation rules specify what message a particular gift conveys about the donor's sentiments. While social anthropology may not be interested in sentiments as such, it should be interested in the codes in which they are ritually expressed and in which the receiver is urged to change his own sentiments. To the extent that the principle of reciprocity has weight in a society, conflict will tend to be resolved by prestations that will re-establish sentiments of amity rather than by the interpretation of (often ambiguous) rules of law. Such prestations recompense the distress caused rather than the torts committed.

The rest of this article will present an example of semiotic analysis of an exchange system. This analysis, based on Orokaiva data, starts (part II) by investigating terminology used in discourse about gifts, debts, exchange and reciprocity. It explores the relation between the constitutive rules and the ideology of reciprocity.[3] The second step in analysis (part III) will relate this ideology to the overall Orokaiva world-view, thus demonstrating that the principle of reciprocity is not an observer-improvised category but an integral part of the conceptual system. Finally (part IV), we shall consider the relation between the constitutive rules and transactional practices and test Sahlins's theory of exchange against the semiotic analysis of Orokaiva data.

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

the final situation is satisfactorily sorted out. In such ways, incidentally, it is probable that new clans are formed.

Another factor which must inevitably delay re-building is the activity needed to re-establish social connections. When I was at Popota village one week-end I checked on food that was being eaten, and found that although the children were carefully fed with nuts, pumpkin tops and other valuable foods, the adults were either going without food altogether or eating the despised wild yam; their taro gardens were rotten or choked with weeds. I noticed with surprise a group of people, heavily laden with bags of taro, hurrying along the road. They walked straight into the village and up to a house, and a few minutes later I heard the noise of crying and wailing. A group of nine people were sitting in two rows facing each other under the shadow of a humpy. The relationship of the whole group, with the exception of two unrelated village women, is expressed in the following diagram (capitals signifies men, lower case women).



Kerahu and Ejobe lived in Popota, and their daughter Seregeza married a Sasembata man. When the volcano erupted parents and daughter were evacuated in different directions, and although from time to time they heard news of each other they were unable to see each other. When they returned to their villages the daughter's first thought was to visit her parents, but this could not be done until a humpy had been built and a present of food collected. On this day that they met the procedure was almost automatic: it was like a well-rehearsed play in which every actor knew his part. Seregeza sat down with her baby, and her father gently cried by her side. Her mother sat in front of her, embracing her and crying in a wail:

Nau kakere ido tungenu

Ijoto poudo ido tungenu.

This was translated for me as "I am the girl who was chased away, to other countries, other places chased away." Meanwhile Urupa and his family squatted on mats facing the crying group and chewing areca nut, and Purari with a village woman relieved Seregeza of her bag of taro and began peeling it. The wailing continued for about an hour, other friends and relatives joining the group, and then conversation became general and food was eaten.

In such ways are the social connections remade. And some thought and activity is being devoted to other ends as well—the dance, for instance. Although there was no desire evident to conduct large mortuary feasts for those who had been killed, it may be expected that, as gardens come back into bearing, individuals will

231 they marauded gardens, so that I assume that a good number could be rounded up if Sivepe were to hold a major feast. They were not at all accessible, however, and none were caught during such hunting [422] expeditions as the people organised. On the occasions when marauding pigs were shot, the pigs were always recognised and presented by the killer to the owner who then presented his pig to some other person. No doubt these pigs were a resource and perhaps I was at fault for not taking a census, but with no pigs visibly in evidence, I considered these assets as too shadowy. In Inonda, where Crocombe and Hogbin reported 12 pigs in 1962, only two were left in 1966.

235 My prognosis for pigs as an economic resource is poor. The fowl [261] population, on the other hand, had remained very much as it was at these earlier investigations: eggs were discovered and eaten occasionally, but the use of the fowl was for feasting when visitors [239] had to be entertained. It was also noticeable that the roosters were deprived of many of their choicest feathers at a time when [295] headdresses had to be refurbished for dancing or spears decorated. [411] At a visit from Togahou, which by traditional etiquette, as I understand it, should have rated at least one pig, the people of [579] Sivepe killed only fowls. This was, I was told, because there were no pigs available; hence the fowls were a proper substitute. It would seem that the fowl is rapidly becoming the substitute for the pig on many ceremonial occasions, though not yet for all occasions.

There is a great shortage of both pigs and fowls for these 438 ceremonial occasions. Pigs are bought for high prices ($20 to 439 $30)--from neighboring villages and even, as Crocombe and Hogbin [435] say, from European planters. Fowls tend to be made available on big occasions by whoever has them so that their number does not increase--a few dozen in each of the two villages.

We may distinguish, among local plant resources which yield 241 economic products, those plants which are native to the district 311 and those which have been introduced by Europeans for cash cropping purposes. Starting our survey with the former of these two categories, we shall deal first with food plants and next with economic trees. I have tabulated average food plants per household as shown for Rimoldi's Sivepe sample and as shown by Crocombe and Hogbin for Inonda (Table 7).[A] The pattern for the two places is remarkably similar except that sweet potato is a notably more important crop at Inonda than at Sivepe. The reason for this is that it is more dependable under drought conditions such as often occur at Inonda and also, it seems to do better at Inonda. The fact that the Inonda taro acreage is higher than the Sivepe acreage reflects no more than the higher yield per acre in the latter place. There is no evidence that any major change occurred in the quantities grown or the methods of cultivation over the period with which we are concerned, though a small increase in the consumption of Xantosoma taro may be a symptom that people may be starting to

A [See Cat. 116, p. 212--Analyst]

731 with some knowledge of anthropology. All these authors, following
361 F. E. Williams, had the impression that Orokaiva clans are corporate
423 groups and that the local clan groups are segments of these. Thus,
657 Plant and the others imagined that the Jegase of Sui (near Awala) would share their land without reservations with the Jegase of Sivepe, that the Seho of Awala would share their land with the Seho of Sivepe, and so on. The Orokaiva, however, knew that their position in the resettlement villages would be weak indeed unless they retained their own village holdings. This weakness will become more apparent from my discussion of the resettlement village of Numuni in a later chapter.

628 The closely allied villages, therefore, are not only a source
423 of cooperation but also competition. Seho returned and had no trouble reasserting their rights; they accepted with good grace that their neighbors had built their village partly on Seho land and that the mission station had partly been built on it, but they jealously guarded the rest of their holdings. Let us now consider the specific variables listed in the previous section.

628 Transactions between members of closely allied villages occur in kinship and friendship roles; decisions affecting the villages as corporate groups are taken at a meeting where all adult men of the affected villages are present, and have a right to speak. Visits between the villages by individuals occurred almost every day; formal meetings involving Sivepe and one of the closely allied villages occurred, for one reason or another, about once a month. The occasion might be a death, a bride price, a minor dispute, some government or council or church project. Contacts were equally close between young and old, males and females. Meetings occurred in the villages, or, more casually, outside them. [578] There is much affection between people of closely allied villages and one finds that disputes between them, though giving rise to a great deal of heated oratory, are not rashly allowed to get out of hand. The disputes I witnessed were all resolved amicably and serious breaches carefully avoided. On the other hand, neighboring [574] villages were always treated with much reserve. Before the eruption, they never ate together except under the formal conditions of a feast; even today, when a feast is held at the mission station for all the villages in the parish, each village sits apart in a separate group. When people from different villages eat together in a formal feast, each village house has its own little group of guests, who are either kinsmen or in a partnership relation. Transactions between such persons nonetheless have a greater fiduciary element than [754] transactions with other outsiders. Sorcery between closely allied villages occurs, but only, so I was told, by the employment of a professional sorcerer from a more distant village. No Garoubi man would act as sorcerer, so I understand, to kill a Sivepe man, but men from Isoge or Kendata could be found for such a service.

657 was accomplished without any European power bearer making his
571 appearance and any sense of compulsion being created--the people clearly considered the boundaries advocated by the government to be in the popular interest. Yet the bonds of solidarity this being formed do not strengthen the unity of the so-called Waseta tribe but the unity of the Higaturu council area as a whole.

628 In this section I have said little about Inonda, because
619 I did not have time to clarify what "tribe" Inonda really belongs.
[114] Williams' tribal map shows Inonda as Sauaha; Crocombe and Hogbin describe Sauaha, quite correctly, as a clan resident near the settlement of Dobuduru (where the people speak a different dialect, presumably that which Williams called Dirou). Clearly, the task of establishing "tribal" units in this district would need to be done again, if it is worth doing at all, which I doubt, for reasons already given.

Section 5: Contacts With Other Orokaiva

628 Generally, contacts outside the "Waseta tribe" are sparse.
[582] During the year, only one visit was made to Sivepe, in a kinship context, by persons from another district. This was a group from
[574] Kokoda, where a Sivepe man married 40 or more years ago, and the visit was from that man's children. Several Sivepe persons quoted as an ancestor a woman from Ajoro, a village close to Inonda. It turned out that all these linkages were due to one single event, namely the capture by the Isivita people of three Ajoro women during a raid. Two of these found their way to Garoubi where they
[424] married; the third woman's son came to live in Sivepe. Descendants of the Sivepe man continue to exercise each year their hunting rights at Ajoro. I could not find other references to ancestors
[572] beyond the "Waseta tribe" apart from these. Some people mentioned a friend, but rarely more than one, who came from another "tribal" district. Often these friends were found during employment, or at the mission school, or they were persons with special roles in mission or government, who had come to the Sasembata district in the course of their jobs. When women had such friends, it was more
[526] often due to a kinship link. An interesting example of the extending of such links under modern conditions occurred when a man from Sasembata village, employed in Kokoda, invited a number of fellow workers to Sasembata for a football game. These men were likewise in Kokoda for employment and came from the Aiga district.

[657] When the members of the "Waseta tribe" were accommodated at
[731] Ilimo, they were not only the guests of the government which
[574] supplied food and other comforts, but also of the people of Ilimo village who had agreed to the camp being established. From the little I could find out about relationships between hosts and

628 guests, it appears that they were friendly but rather formal. As
574 will be shown later, all arrangements in connection with Ilimo
731 camp were made between the government and the Ilimo people; the Orokaiva had no forms of organisation, in 1951, through which the refugees could have negotiated directly with Ilimo. The hosts [659] generously supplied food, grew extra food in special plots, provided abundant building material from their land, and a site for the camp and helped with the preparation of the camp while the evacuees still lived at Wairopa, in return for which the government made various gifts which Ilimo evidently regarded as adequate payment. At no point, during the existence of the camp, did the refugees develop an organisation which dealt directly with the Ilimo people. Thus, the only contact between hosts and guests was on a social level.

The camp was built at some little distance from the village. Refugees who had friends and relations in Ilimo used to go over to the village and visit them. There was for instance, at the time of the eruption, one Sivepe man resident at Ilimo; thus some Sivepe people paid visits to the village. There was an Easter celebration at the camp to which the village people came. When the camp broke up, the government gave a feast to the Ilimo people, on behalf of the evacuees, in the usual Orokaiva style.

121 If we wish to answer the question to what extent contact between different "tribal" groups (or distant groups) of Orokaiva has become more intensive since the eruption, we cannot confine ourselves to contacts occurring in villages such as Sivepe or Ilimo. Here the pattern suggested in the previous pages has hardly [178] changed. The changes have occurred by the development of new organisations (to which I shall refer later) through labour migration and through urban development.

464 As I am at present discussing only unorganised contacts
166 between villagers, I can give only one clear instance of changing
633 attitudes and this is in Popondetta itself. Popondetta, the new administrative centre of the Northern District, has about 4,000 [162] inhabitants, almost all Orokaiva; among its inhabitants all parts of the Northern District are represented, including Sivepe. The Sivepe people had many relatives there, mostly hailing from the Sasembata district, and employed in some regular job in the town. These jobs are partly in personal service to Europeans, but also in light industry, the retail trade, public works and public service, and go far beyond the little employment that was available in pre-eruption Higaturu (with a population which, judging from aerial photographs, can hardly have exceeded that of a large village).
484 Popondetta is preeminently the place where intelligent men from
521 various villages can gather informally to discuss political and other
633 public questions, and develop a wider interpretation of the situation of the Orokaiva which is learnt by the men from the villages when they pay occasional visits to Popondetta. The town generates a new

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572 628 bond is respected by both sides and utilized for purposes of mediation. The friend is not an ally in war, but his person is sacrosanct.

Hereditary friendships are more likely to fade naturally and quietly than to die violently in a quarrel. On the other hand, they may become converted 621 to affinal bonds or lead to co-residence, in which case an entirely new pat- 572 tern arises. It is possible for migrants into a village to have no bonds other [166] than those of hereditary friendship with their chosen hosts. But once co-residence is established, the new arrivals soon become involved in intra-community politics along the lines suggested by Watson (1970): one of the existing factions woos the new arrivals to its side. A strong bond soon develops between the immigrants and the faction into which they are drawn. Intermarriage is likely to follow. A study of the composition of Orokaiva clans (see Schwimmer, 1970a) suggests that they are most often composed of a number of groups differing in local origin. These groups did not generally bear the same clan name prior to settlement, and sometimes they had no relatives at all in the village where they settled. (Still, it would be more usual for at least some members of the migrating group to have connections in the new place.) In the case of the Sorovi people who migrated to Sivepe in 1966, these connections were often of the fictive (friendship) *apa/eambo* type.

572 *Apa/eambo* and *jao* relationships are inherited bilaterally; that is, passed on to both the sons and the daughters of the partners. The only restriction is that both members of the partnership must be of one sex; hence if partner A has only sons and partner B has only daughters, the partnership will die. Similarly, it may die if the age differences in any generation are too great. Even so, under bilateral succession, one would expect that people would recognize far more of these partnerships than in fact they do.

We don't know for how many generations they actually last. Friendship bonds are remembered exactly as long as genealogical bonds – for two generations senior to ego – but some may in fact be more ancient. Friendship bonds are most likely to be kept up when partner A has no kinsmen in partner B's village. Thus, they fill gaps in the network. They are put under strain when hostility develops between the two villages, although even then the friendship bond often survives.

Friendship Obligations and their Ideological Basis

572 (a) *Apa/eambo* or *namei*. The ceremony of receiving a guest friend differs 931 in some ritual features from the hospitality shown to affines and to con- ● 594 sanguineal competitive exchange partners. When the latter pay formal visits, gifts are made on arrival. Sometimes, the guest does not sit down or allow his string bag to touch the ground until he is satisfied with the gifts offered. This is especially true if the partners are to reconcile a quarrel. Amicability begins after business is concluded. The gifts, in such cases, are made by the

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host family only. If the guests do contribute, this happens behind the scenes so that the host still appears as the sole donor.

When the guest is an hereditary friend, the host supplies a pig and valuables (such as feathers, ornaments, and nowadays, also money), while other villagers openly present the vegetable foods; the visit is incomplete without such participation. However, the gifts are not presented when the guest arrives. First, he is fed vegetables and meat (this is *pondo* or feast; an ordinary meal contains no meat); he converses with his host and sleeps in the host's house. No mention is made of gifts until the moment of his departure. If he hears any plans of gift-giving, he would be expected to refuse the gifts. The pig is killed secretly, away from the village. At the moment of departure, the guest is confronted with his presents, which he can no longer refuse.

We note that the symbolism throughout is appropriate to the cooperative type of relationship: amicability is not conditional upon the host's prestations; the guest does not desire the host to part with his substance. The host does not give demonstratively but stealthily, emphasizing the intrinsic rather than the extrinsic benefits the partners get out of the relationship. But in the wife's sorrow over the loss of her pig (a metaphoric child; cf. Schwimmer, 1970b), a more complex phenomenon occurs: she does emphasize her loss, though inconspicuously (only a strip of cloth tells the story: she tears off a piece of her skirt and uses it to truss the pig to a stick).

Even without this touch, the departing guest knows that the gifts he has received include some of his host's most treasured possessions. Having been in the position of a departing guest, myself, I am perhaps able to understand how Orokaiva experience it. As I was leaving Sivepe, and after all formal leave-taking was over, an old man from another village came to offer me one of his most valuable birds of paradise which everyone knew to be a source of pride to him. As I was unable (and not expected) to give anything in return at this time, it was an irreplaceable loss. There was no expectation of future gain but only the expression of a bond. These are the symbols they live by; this is how a previous stranger is lodged in the centre of their social world. Thus, it is absurd to call such friendship peripheral. The old man's bird of paradise was anything but peripheral; it was his most prized possession (almost his only possession). It was, in fact, the magic by which the nature of the relationhip was transformed from a peripheral to a central one.

Certainly, such a relationship is largely free of kin obligations, almost as free as Burridge suggests with regard to the Tangu. Obligations are not wholly absent, even though they cannot be expressed in a kinship or economic idiom. The bond is based on feelings of attraction towards the personal qualities of an individual and it develops out of various types of shared experience. Unrelated males who are initiated together become *namei*. *Otavo* of all kinds (see section on Simbo, p. 65) may eventually become *namei*.

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431 But recruitment to this status is not restricted to specific categories; any two
572 people can become *namei*. These bonds provide some measure of control
574 over the flow of information, and a prudent man will establish them in places where such control is important. They serve to set up channels of information where they are lacking in the kinship-generated network. Unfortunately, neither my Orokaiva data nor any other Oceanic data provide much specific information on the channels which these relationships open up, although Burridge has referred to Tangu friendship as providing "a form of communication." On this basis, a friend's obligations would be to spread the renown of your friend, speak in his favour if others criticize him, advise him of anything that is being undertaken against him, and so forth. In practice, anthropologists have often overlooked such obligations towards their friends in the field.

572 (b) *Jao*. An important source of hereditary friendships, perhaps the most important of all, are *jao* relationships: friendships between unrelated women. A woman uses the term *jao* to address the wife of any *hòvatu* (brother-in-
[591] law) when these two women are unrelated. A consequence of the rule of virilocal marriage is that the married women in a village tend to be unrelated
[582] to each other, having been drawn from a variety of villages in which various families had exchanged relations. When these women become friendly with each other, they call each other *jao*. Similar friendships are also common between women of adjacent villages even when their husbands are unrelated.

As such relationships are hereditary bilaterally, they may lead to a *namei* or *apa/eambo* relation between the sons of these women in the second generation, thus linking families between which no friendship existed previously. Moreover, if the daughters of the *jao* become separated from each other after marriage, they often continue their own *jao* relation, and visit
[431] each other's villages. They receive gifts on these visits, though on a more modest scale than the men do (as far as I could see, only vegetable produce was given). At times, they may stay for a few days before they return. It seems to be the Orokaiva wife's way of having a break from the domestic round.

123 Unfortunately, a male anthropologist cannot plumb the mysteries of this
572 relationship, as informants refuse to discuss it with any male, including their own husbands. A female anthropologist might find fascinating data; my only significant discovery was that women attach great weight to the institution, that it has secret aspects, and that it definitely binds males of the next generation. Married women certainly feel the lack of co-resident consanguines and the establishment of *jao* visits is clearly a substitute.

628 If two unrelated young women of district A are *jao* and marry in villages
572 B and C, this leads to inter-village links, not only between A and B, and A and C (links directly resulting from the affinal relationships), but also between B and C since the *jao* continue to visit each other, as do their sons. Hence, the *jao* institution is an important source of friendship linkages.

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572 The rejection of both the cooperative and the competitive relationship
602 applies to fictive *simbo* as well as to the genealogical *simbo*. The sharing of a
608 fruit is a ritual that is sometimes performed between a married couple; for example, when the community has decided to hold a feast. It symbolizes
[824] that the partners become one. But a twin fruit is not completely one; from another viewpoint, it consists of two separable halves. Here, it is again deceptive to speak of "fictive" *simbo*. Rather, it is more accurate to say that consanguinity of a certain type is one attribute of the tenure of a relationship while sharing a twin fruit is another equivalent attribute of tenure.

The basic concern of the *simbo* relationship lies in critical and dangerous enterprises, and inasmuch, it is reasonable to want the company of someone who, if necessary, is willing to die with his *simbo*. The relationship resembles marriage in its total interdependence. The Orokaiva system of classification is able to make a clear distinction between this pattern and the *namei* pattern with its far more stable socio-political setting.

572 (d) *Otavo*. Friendships are more numerous now than in the past when travel was more dangerous. The *otavo* relationship, which may exist between cognates and non-cognates alike, applies primarily to a specific activity in
[439] which pairing is required. Its main starting points were, traditionally, trading and feasting. When a man visited a strange village to trade, say, lime, feathers, areca, or a string bag, *and* if buyer and seller were personally attracted to one another, then an enduring *otavo* relationship might develop.

572 Similarly, feasting occasions between villages often result in *otavo* relations. Partnerships have to be arranged for accommodating guests in host
574 households. Sometimes guest and host families are strangers before the feast, but are paired together at a preliminary meeting. Such a relationship might be ephemeral but it is usual to keep to the same partnerships for the return visit. If the partners are sufficiently attracted to each other, an hereditary friendship will result. In the second generation, if not before, the *apa/eambo* terminology will be used.

[535] The term *otavo* is also used to refer to partners who choose one another specifically for dancing. The partners are of the same sex and they tend to stay together for long periods. They may or may not be consanguines.

572 *Otavo* relations are essentially competitive, both partners vying with one another in trade, prowess in war, hospitality, the dance. They also compete with the rest of the group in that some couples enjoy a higher reputation than others. Feasting partners make a great effort to gather many gifts for one another; competitive giving is, for the most part, on the level of households. Outside the activity, the *otavo* have no obligations toward one another.

In modern times, friendships can have many other starting points: work in a plantation, study in a boarding school, and other activities. Traditional connections were often with villages at the outer edge of the area where intragroup morality applied (in the sense of Williams, 1930), and sometimes a little beyond.

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Orokaiva marriage (Schwimmer, 1970) and have shown that sister-exchange marriage, though infrequent, is regarded as the ideal form. Elopement and abduction marriages, once the most frequent, are now frowned upon, though elopement is still prevalent. The patrilateral preference rule (marrying out a girl in her mother's village) is still regularly stated by informants. In my records, which go back to the third generation, I found that 35% of the resident married women had been married out by that rule for the whole three generations, i.e., they had been exchanged for their mothers and their mothers for their grandmothers.

In the study[2] that follows, I shall first present data concerning the coconut and areca, then about the taro. I shall follow this presentation with a brief discussion about the relation between the levels of myth and ritual.

1. COCONUT AND ARECA

A salient characteristic of the ethnobotany of the Orokaiva is the classification of plants as masculine and feminine. Certain important cultivars are grouped together as opposite-sex couples and grown in close association with one another. Claims are made that such plants will not prosper unless they are planted close together and that, in their wild state, they are also found together.

The symbolic association of these pairs of plants may be based on a number of shared characteristics: the similar outward appearance of the fruit, a coincidence in the time of fruiting, and similarities in culinary use, taste, and supposed physiological effects of the fruit when eaten. Sometimes the pairs of plants are linked in ritual use and in a common myth.

Coconut and areca are planted together in villages as well as gardens. Both nuts are eaten raw between meals; both grow on palms; both are offered to visitors—the coconut as refreshment immediately upon arrival and the areca (along with *hingi* pepper and lime) for chewing during the conversation. At mortuary feasts coconut and areca are the principal gifts, offered in large quantities to guests from villages who helped to bury

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the dead person. At ordinary harvest feasts and bride-wealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other vegetables. They are then subsidiary to taro and pigs, which are the main food gifts, but at mortuary feasts vast quantities are given, saved from the dead man's palms, which are made taboo until this feast. Dry coconut and areca are strewn on graves by affines of the deceased.

The distinctive features perceived by Orokaiva in each species should also be summarized. Coconut is believed to be a valuable adjunct to the diet of children and dogs (also chickens). In Orokaiva myths, its miraculous effect on children and dogs is often described. To the scientific observer this effect is natural enough as coconut is an important source of first-class protein for both children and dogs, who otherwise do not get much first-class protein. Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body not only to enhance beauty but also for its magical efficacy, for the purification of man-slayers (Williams, 1930: 175, 207), and for women who are being initiated or who welcome visitors at dances. In all such cases it is the task of a male to pour the coconut milk over the persons whose magical protection is intended.

Areca, a mildly hallucinogenic fruit, is chewed by women as much as by men. When friends are sitting together, it is shared in much the same way as beer among white Australians. People offer nuts to each other but expect to come out approximately even. Visitors from other villages expect to be offered areca by their hosts. Its main physiological effect is to create a dreamy amiability and to break down hostility that might otherwise exist. Its magical uses, mostly in association with some medicine of more specific purpose, are too many to enumerate. A girl carries a bunch of areca at the ceremony which ends her seclusion after first menstruation. She normally offers it to her man at lovers' meetings.

Although I have a number of coconut and areca myths on record, I shall discuss here only one, the fullest one, which illustrates my argument most clearly. A beautiful girl, noted for her remarkable breasts, had the misfortune of killing all the young men with whom she slept. Her breasts pricked and killed them.

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proceeds as though he wished to prove at all costs the absolute interdependence of husband and wife, the absolute necessity of their symbiosis. So important is this ideological notion of symbiosis that the culture has set up numerous imaginary plant symbioses to emphasize it. There is no time here to analyze several other recorded myths which carry the same message.

We may also say that hierarchy is absent on the level of network structure (in the sense of Sperber, 1968) as there is no problem of allocation and no competitive aspect in obligations relating to the giving of coconut and areca. With the exception of mortuary feasts, the nuts are given away in small quantities, as tokens which are part of ordinary social exchange. If a visitor is given no coconut on his arrival in a village, this is rarely because of any absence of coconuts, but mostly because one does not want the visitor to stay, and this unwillingness has nothing to do with the coconut transaction. If there are really no coconuts, this does not affect the relationship. The same applies to areca.

The manner in which coconut and areca are given to guests confirms and expresses the existing social stratification. The most important guest receives the first coconut. He is also likely to receive a large gift of areca, which he then distributes to his followers. Though Orokaiva society is much less stratified than many other New Guinea societies that have been reported, men differ in influence and only the most influential can hold feasts. The position of the "bigger men," as one may call them, is not validated by any ideology or formally designated position, hereditary or otherwise, as is the case in Polynesia.

2. TARO

The foregoing discussion of coconut and areca has been presented because it provides a particularly clear illustration of the nature of code structures and network structures. I would not, however, classify either the code or the networks arising out of coconut and areca exchanges as hierarchical. If we compare these fruits with taro, the principal staple of the Orokaiva,

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it may be given away, complete with tops, by a man to other men. We here see the same contrast which we met before between a metaphoric and a metonymic gift. The feminine gift, in this case, is metaphoric: she gives her own essence, which is taro, to the man. In return she receives meat, the man's essence; but we come to this later. The male gift of taro, raw and complete, is metonymic: he gives some part of his taro nature, conferred upon him by woman, to another man with whom he desires to establish or restore social relations.

The significance of taro, as part of the nature of the human male, is clarified in the myth by the opposition between the male twin and the man from Managalase. The Managalase is a neighboring mountain district where the main crop is yam, not taro, but where a variety of taro (called *pijama*) is also grown. It is not, however, grown in gardens but in small bush clearings. The Managalase magician is therefore in an intermediate position between Totoima and his son: unlike Totoima, he recognizes the technology of domestication of taro, but he recognizes it inadequately, being mainly a hunter. Such, at least, is the view expressed in Orokaiva stories about the Managalase.

Taro, to the Orokaiva, is symbolic of strength; it is preferred to other staples because it builds stronger men, so it is believed. Taro is, moreover, the principal bulk gift displayed at feasts. Certainly, pigs are always given away at feasts, but in small quantities, and the size of the feasts is not principally measured by the amount of pig meat given away. It is by the quantity of taro that changes hands that the size of an Orokaiva feast is measured. A pole is placed in the center of the heap and measured. When taro is received at a return feast, the recipients take it back to their own village and lay it against the same pole. If the quantity is smaller, the other side has lost the competition. The strength of a village is measured by the amount of taro it can produce. The strength of a fighter or hunter is derived not so much from the amount of game he has previously killed; it is derived from the taro he has eaten. It is in this sense that taro, when consumed by man, is stronger than pig, though in the absence of this metabolism, pigs are stronger than taro.